Louis XIV's Army

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Dedication
To my son, Louis.

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Louis XIV's Army

One of the great armies of history is now almost forgotten, yet it was in many ways the first modern army. Louis XIV strove for order and an army which was both disciplined and large. Many measures that are now standard in our present day armies were introduced during his reign. This short study is meant merely as an introduction to a truly vast and fascinating subject.

Chronology

1638 Birth of Louis on 5 September; France had been at war with Spain and Austria since 1635.

1643 Death of King Louis XIII on 14 May; Queen Anne becomes regent and appoints Cardinal Mazarin as prime minister. Victory over the Spanish army at Rocroi on 19 May by the Duke D'Enghien, later Prince de Condé.

1648–52 Victory by Condé at Lens in August leads to Treaty of Westphalia, signed on 24 October 1648 and ending the Thirty Years War. Revolt of the Paris Parliament against Mazarin's government in late August. The queen and the ten year old king flee the Louvre for their safety on the night of 5/6 January 1649—an event which profoundly marked Louis XIV. Revolt of the Princes in 1650 as civil war rages—remembered as the *Fronde*. Condé goes over to the Spanish and occupies Paris in July 1652, but most rally to the regency to end anarchy. The young king and the court make a triumphant entry into Paris on 21 October, marking the end of the *Fronde*.

1653–59 Anglo-French alliance against Spain in April 1653. Louis crowned King on 7 June 1654, but most actual power remains with Cardinal Mazarin. Turenne crushes Spaniards at the battle of the Dunes near Dunkirk on 14 June 1658; peace is signed on 7 November 1659. The Prince de Condé is pardoned.

1661 Cardinal Mazarin dies on 9 March, Louis does not appoint a successor and assumes full powers; many offices are abolished or stripped of powers. In the years to follow, royal control becomes complete in all aspects of government.

Louis XIV (1638–1715) shown in the early 1660s wearing his royal robe and the collar and cross of the Order of the Holy Spirit. (National Archives of Canada, C-2421)

The siege of Tournai, 21 June 1667, from a print after the painting by Lebrun, showing the French in the trenches before the city. In the foreground is a pikeman, probably from a Swiss unit since he has arm cops and tassets. Soldiers are mostly in grey and a servant in the royal livery holds the king's horse. (Private collection)

1664–67 Colonial affairs come under more direct control and, for the first time, royal army troops are sent overseas: to Guyana, the West Indies in 1664, to Canada in 1665 and to Madagascar in 1666.

1667–68 War of Devolution: French army invades Spanish Flanders under Turenne during spring and summer of 1667. Douai, Tournai, Lille and other cities are taken; Artois and Hainault annexed to France. Holland, England and Sweden form an alliance against France. Condé invades Franche-Comté in February 1668; this is handed back by the peace of 2 May, but France keeps most fortified places in Flanders.

1672–79 French army crosses the Rhine on 11 June 1672 and invades Holland; the country rallies around William of Orange; some of the dikes are opened and flooding stops the French. England, at first an ally of Louis XIV, makes a separate peace in February 1674, while Spain, Austria and some German states form an alliance with the Dutch. Fighting spreads to Spanish Flanders and Germany. French troops move out of Holland in May. Turenne prevents the junction of two allied armies at Sinsheim on 16 June, while Condé gains a costly victory at Seneffe on 11 August. Turenne is killed at Saasbach on 27 July 1675. Later battles and sieges have little effect on the outcome of the war, and various peace treaties are signed in 1678–79. France gains Franche-Comté and some of Spanish Flanders.

1681 French troops occupy Strasbourg and Casale on 30 September. Beginning of the *Dragonnades* against Huguenots (French Protestants) in Poitou.

1683–84 War against Spain; Luxembourg captured.

1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes on 22 October requires all Huguenots to become Roman Catholic, but many flee France.

1688 'Glorious Revolution' in England

during November and December. Louis XIV's most tenacious foe, William of Orange, becomes King William III of England, while James II flees to France. French troops invade and sack the Palatinate in the autumn; several German states and Holland are at war with France by November.

1689–98 War of the League of Augsburg. William III allies England, Austria, Brandenburg-Prussia, Piedmont, Sweden, and Spain against France. James II leads revolt of Irish Catholics, but they are defeated at the Boyne on 12 July 1690. French armies in Flanders under Marshal Luxembourg win at battles of Fleurus (1690), Steinkirk (1692), Neerwinden (1693) and sieges of Mons (1691) and Namur (1692) directed by General Vauban. Marshal Catinat's army in Italy also has successes, notably at Staffarde (1690). But Namur is retaken and the siege of Brussels fails in 1695. Peace is agreed at Ryswick in 1697.

1700 Charles II of Spain dies 1 November; Louis XIV's grandson becomes king of Spain as Philip V.

1701–14 War of Spanish Succession: France, Spain and Bavaria against most of Europe. French armies are at first successful, but the tide soon turns in Flanders and Germany where the allies wage a war of movement led by outstanding generals: Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Marshal Villars beats Austrians at Hochstadt (1703)

Western Europe in the early 18th century. (National Archives of Canada)

The Era of Louis XIV

Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1621–86), who achieved lasting fame as 'the Great Condé'. A son of the high nobility—he was Louis XIV's cousin—he was recognised early on for his outstanding military talents. He gained his first command when he was only 21, over the winning army at Rocroi. He was not as shrewd at power politics, but after a period of exile the king gave him other commands, and he successfully led armies during the War of Devolution and the Dutch War. (National Library of Canada)

Louis XIV was a child king from 1643 and crowned in 1654; his reign as the true ruler of France started in March 1661, following the death of Cardinal Mazarin. In the previous reign Cardinal Richelieu had laid some of the cornerstones of a more central and powerful royal government. Louis now took the process a step further and fully used his royal powers to create an autocratic and centralised modern state. His feelings on the condition of the country as he took it over in 1661 are summed up in one phrase from his *Memoirs*: 'Disorder reigned everywhere'.

France in 1661 was an awakening giant. Its population of 18 million souls put it well ahead of its neighbours: the Austria of the Habsburg emperors had about eight million people, Spain and England about six to seven million each. Besides having the largest population among the European states, France had a fertile soil, natural resources and a considerable industrial and commercial potential. It all needed direction and attention to develop and Louis' early years of personal rule provided the necessary names. He surrounded himself with able and hard-working ministers such as Colbert, who directed financial reform, industrial development and commerce. Colbert also built up France's naval power, making her a strong contender for overseas trade and colonies.

The very location of France made her central to nearly all European affairs. Louis XIV had definite ideas about the territorial borders of the country, which he felt should be the Rhine on the east and the Pyrennees to the south, and should include Spanish Flanders (now Belgium) in the north. As a result, the latter area became the scene of considerable fighting. His policy of 'reunions' of what were basically French-speaking areas like Artois, Lorraine and Franche-Comté drew opposition from his neighbours but had a certain national logic. After the 1681 annexation of Alsace, a basically German area, the fears of an all-powerful France drew various and very different countries into lasting alliances to check Louis XIV's vision of an expanded France.

The high point of the reign and of the power of France may be placed from the end of the Dutch war in 1678–79, to the Revocation of the Edict of

but Marshal Tallard is defeated at Blenheim (1704) and Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies (1706). Defeat of Bourgogne and Vendôme at Oudenarde (1708). Tactical but indecisive victory by Marlborough over Villars at Malplaquet (1709). Vendôme defeats the allies in Spain at Villaviciosa (1710). England withdraws from alliance while Villars defeats allies at Denain (1712). Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (2 September 1714) end the war. Philip V confirmed as king of Spain, but Flanders ceded to Austria. End of the era of French expansion.

1715 Louis XIV dies on 1 September at 8.15 a.m.

Nantes in 1685—which made the practice of 'the so-called reformed religion' illegal in France. As a result, tens and even hundreds of thousands of persecuted Huguenots fled their native land rather than convert to Catholicism. Besides the military consequences, which we will examine later, the country lost considerable capital and some of its best businessmen and scholars to its rivals, Holland and England. It was not an age of religious tolerance in England either, as was to be seen by events in Ireland from 1689; but France was then the leading power in the world, and its glory and grandeur were considerably tarnished thereafter.

To conclude that the rest of the reign was a decline would be hasty. Louis lived to see his grandson confirmed as king of Spain 'and of the Indies' and to satisfy most of his territorial aims west of the Rhine. The French colonies in America and Asia were firmly established. French fashions in everything from costume to manners remained an overwhelming influence throughout Europe well into the 18th century. No less a critic of the absolute power of kings than Voltaire concluded in 1751 that the 'century of Louis XIV' was one of the four summits of history, and 'perhaps the most perfect'.

All this was not achieved without long hard struggles. Indeed, on the eve of his death, a sickly Louis XIV made a terrible confession: 'I have loved war too much'. True enough: 34 of the 54 years of his personal rule were years of war.

The Army in 1661

When Louis XIV assumed personal power in 1661, the French army amounted to perhaps 70,000 men. The army may have been 'royal', but the king did not have direct control of it. The most powerful man in the army was probably the Colonel Général of the French Infantry whose power, according to the king's *Memoirs* 'was infinite . . . and greater than the king himself over the principal forces of the state'. For example, it was the Colonel Général, not the king, who issued officers' commissions. Thus, when the Duke d'Epernon died in office, Louis abolished the post of Colonel Général of Infantry in July and assumed its powers himself. From then on the officers had commissions signed by the king. Colonel Générals of Cavalry, Dragoons, Swiss, etc., continued to exist but with no real powers thereafter.

A good many towns had 'private' troops of their own and governors who were all but independent from central authority. Louis cut off funds, gradually replaced the town troops by royal garrisons, and eventually instituted the rotation of

The French cavalry swims across the Rhine and invades Holland on 11 June 1672. The king is at the right, mounted and pointing his cane at the Dutch side of the river. Engraving after the painting by Van der Meulen, who was an official battle artist accompanying the French armies. (National Library of Canada)

postings for governors. Thus, within a couple of years, the king enjoyed direct power over the armed forces in his realm.

Reorganisation and administration

The army was of an indifferent quality, and as late as 1666 Louis noted that the infantry was 'not very good'. Rigid discipline was not a strong point, and there was no uniformity in organisation, weapons, clothing or pay. A regiment might have only four companies of variable strength dressed in every colour of the rainbow. A white sash was the usual identification of French troops, just as a red sash was used by the Spanish, an orange one by the Dutch, etc. Pay was irregular. In short, the French army was not very different from other European armies of those days.

The Secretary of War, Michel Le Tellier, had started some reforms, but it was his son the Marquis de Louvois who, with Louis' backing, was to transform the army. Louvois was a brilliant administrator and probably one of the greatest army reformers in modern times. By the time he died in 1691 the French army had progressed from a small, rag-tag collection of semi-independent units to a very large and modern force controlled by central authority—an army both feared and imitated by the rest of Europe.

Firmly in control of both financial resources and the army, Louis sought to increase his armed forces. He understood the power of intimidation that a large, well-organised and visually impressive force could achieve. One of his first actions was to keep as many disbanded line officers as possible in service

Marshal Claude, Duke de Villars (1653–1734) leading his men into the enemy entrenchment at Denain in 1712. It was his greatest victory, and ruined allied plans of invading north-eastern France. His four lines of infantry marched up to the enemy position, receiving fire without wavering, and carried it at bayonet point. Villars was a fighting general in every sense; he really did lead his men into battle as shown in this print. (Private collection)

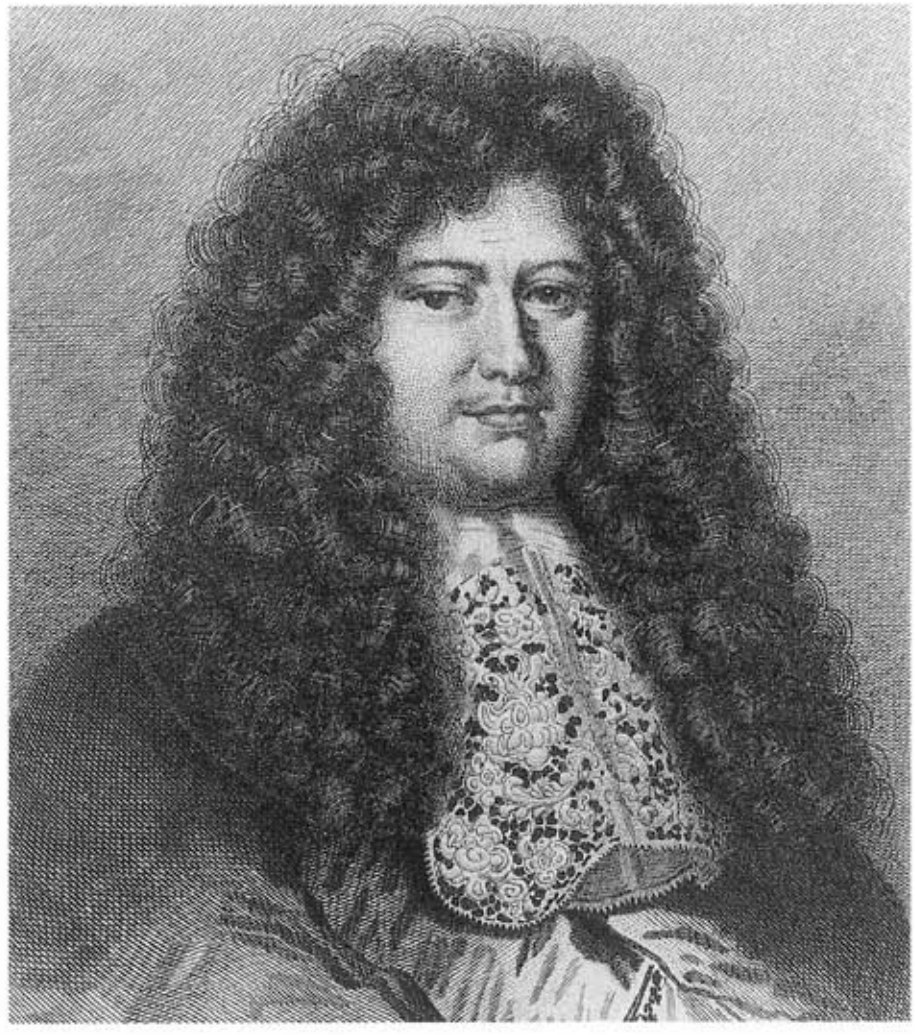
Arms and ammunition wagon escorted by soldiers on the march at the time of the *Fronde*. Note the lack of uniformity in the several types of polearm; and the rooster on the wagon! This is the sort of force Louis inherited when he came to power in 1661 . . . and completely transformed. Print from Collombon's *Trophée d'armes* published in Lyon in 1650, reprinted 1660. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

with his Guard units, so that they could be commissioned again when raising new regiments became possible. He first augmented the size of his Guard units, as well as raising new ones such as the *Cheveaux-Légers du Dauphin* (the Crown Prince's Light Horse) in January 1663. The size of the army grew, especially from 1666, and stood at about 125,000 when the War of Devolution broke out in 1667. Some 55,000 invaded Spanish Flanders; since this province was defended by less than 10,000 men, a French triumph was predictable.

It was not merely an increase in numbers but a new spirit which permeated the army. Order, discipline and absolute loyalty to the king were demanded and obtained. Louvois managed to reduce corruption greatly, notably by the actions of War Commissioners and Army Intendants who had a habit of turning up at inspections to check the returns. A common practice among officers was to list fictitious names as soldiers; at parades muskets and equipment would be handed to idlers posing as soldiers (called *passe-volants*), who would be paid only for that day, allowing the officers to pocket the rest of the money. This had not been too risky in the good old pre-Louvois days; but when the officials at Belle-Isle were caught red-handed, the governor and the town major were heavily fined, and the captain dismissed from the army. A detected *passe-volant* suffered severe punishment. If, by some misfortune, the War Commissioner lined his pockets as well, and Louvois heard about it—such was the case of a certain Commissioner Aubert in Dunkirk during 1671—he was swiftly dismissed and not heard of again.

Louvois was ruthless in his drive for competence. Officers found to their surprise that they were now expected to be conversant with the latest military theories and practices, or they might be forced to sell their commissions. Military manuals such as Mallet's *Les Travaux de Mars* (1672 and many reprints) became best-sellers as officers sought to perfect their knowledge. To help them along, Louvois drafted, and the king signed, a multitude of orders and regulations which prescribed the duties of officers and men in nearly every circumstance. Training was deemed important and officers found that they were expected to be with their units at drill and to attend training camps; this was no idle

Marshal Henri, Viscount de Turenne (1611–75) was a remarkable and innovative strategist. He insisted on rigid discipline and training, but was loved and trusted by his soldiers. One of his lesser-known accomplishments was upgrading the French cavalry to a cohesive and fearless body of shock troops. (National Library of Canada)



Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641–91) was the outstanding Minister of War who reorganised and expanded the French army according to the king's wishes from the 1660s. He introduced standards of discipline and training, uniformity of arms, equipment and clothing, and brought the army under central authority. (National Library of Canada)

activity, for the king would often show up and review the troops. Cadet companies—actually schools—were set up in 1682; but this proved to be an idea ahead of its time, and in 1694 the old system of having cadets serving with the regiments was brought back.

One of the early heroes of the new order of things was Jean de Martinet (whose name passed into the language as a synonym for rigid discipline). He was lieutenant-colonel of the Régiment du Roi, and it was through him that the king imposed his ideas. During the campaign of 1667 the regiment was a model of discipline and regularity, with such novel practices as well-aligned encampments. The king wished that these practices be adopted by the rest of the infantry and the cavalry, and they soon were. The notions of standard weapons and uniforms were adopted about this time also. Martinet was made colonel of the regiment in 1670, but was killed in action in 1672; this was a loss to the proponents of reform, but much had been achieved already and Louvois, backed by the king, carried on.

The nobility continued to enjoy wide privileges when it came to officers' commissions, which were obtained by purchase. However, a very large crack in the structure was made with the introduction of ranks which were appointed rather than bought. From 1661 majors and lieutenant-colonels were promoted solely on merit; and in 1667 the rank of brigadier was instituted, which opened the way to high command. As lieutenant-colonels could be made brigadiers without having to purchase a colonel's commission, Louis had in fact created a parallel way for talented officers to advance, whether or not they were noble or rich. Catinat and Vauban rose in this way to become marshals.

The enlisted men seem to have reacted favourably to this administrative revolution. The tighter discipline was more demanding but, for the first time in living memory, pay was regular, some of the corrupt officers were severly punished, armament improved, and the units looked smarter as uniforms were adopted. All this imbued a sense that the king was trying to be just while improving the soldier's lot; loyalty, morale and corps pride were thus improved. The French army from the

1660s to the 1680s was possibly the best anywhere, certainly the largest and most modern force of its time.

Expansion and manpower

In March 1672 the establishment of the army was over 176,000 officers and men. Within a few months, many were marching into Holland and the army grew during the war. By January 1678 the number had risen to nearly 280,000, of which about 165,000 were on campaign on several fronts while the rest served as garrisons. Although reduced to a peacetime establishment of about 150,000 in 1679, the army was augmented during the 1680s.

The problems of recruiting good soldiers in such numbers became overwhelming, so the quality of the men declined as the numbers increased. In 1685 the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes created a crisis in the army. Soldiers were used to 'convert' the Huguenots, but not all soldiers were Catholics. Marshal Vauban later estimated that some 600 of the best officers and 12,000 good, experienced soldiers fled to Holland, Germany or England, where their services were eagerly accepted. Not only did they bring with them the latest techniques, which they taught their former enemies, but they proved to be implacable opponents of the French army. Among the refugees was Marshal Schomberg who went to the British army. (On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the 1689 crisis in Ireland eventually brought at least 12,000 bitter Irish Catholics to the French army and a most talented officer in the Duke of Berwick, who was made a Marshal of France in 1703.)

Louvois was meanwhile faced with an increasingly persistent recruiting problem. To solve it, he introduced a militia draft in 1688 which was really the first step towards what we know as conscription in modern armies. Some 25,000 men were called up—usually one per parish—and put into the 30 new Provincial Militia regiments for full-time service. It was still peacetime; but war soon came, and many did not return home until 1697. In the meantime, the parishes had to keep their quotas up and the draft became an annual event. The army became enormous after 1689—probably as many as 450,000 including militiamen by 1694—but this was quickly reduced to 288,000 a couple of years later. The militia regiments had served well, but were not as disciplined as the regular troops, and tended to loot.

The War of Spanish Succession (or Queen Anne's War) saw the French army facing the same manpower problem. In 1701, 55,000 militiamen were called up so that the army could boast some 220,000 men a year later. But this was to be the hardest war of Louis' reign: French armies suffered many defeats and terrible losses. Recruiting sergeants took almost anyone who could walk with a musket, but it was still not enough. Militiamen were incorporated into regular units in the field, while more men were taken away from their villages back home. Some fled the conscriptions; but 260,000 men marched away to the front after drawing the fateful black slip of paper in the village square. Total strength may have gone as high as 400,000 men in the last decade of the reign.

Sébastien Le Preste, Seigneur de Vauban (1633–1707), one of the greatest military engineers in history. He was made a marshal in 1703, conducted 53 sieges (the king being present at 20 of them); built 33 strongholds and had nearly 300 others upgraded. He also wrote many works and his treatises on the fortification, attack and defence of cities are still considered classics in the literature of the art of war. (Private collection)

Les Invalides in Paris, built between 1670 and 1674, was the first large institution to care for crippled and veteran soldiers, thus recognising the state's responsibility in such matters. France's example was followed by other nations, notably at Britain's Royal Hospital in Chelsea, founded in 1692. Pensioners in Les Invalides wore a blue coat lined red with pewter buttons. Space eventually became a problem and the more able veterans were posted to various fortresses throughout the kingdom. Today Les Invalides houses the Musée de l'Armée and Napoleon's tomb. (Author)

Although the accuracy of some of the above figures is probably impossible to judge with certainty, they give an idea of how far Louis XIV had managed to mobilise France. Such a large standing army had not been seen since Roman times and was not to be seen again in France until the advent of Napoleon. By comparison, the Austrian army was 100,000 strong in 1705 and the British army stood at a peak of 75,000 in 1710.

Command

It would be futile to discuss here the merits and faults of the great captains of Louis XIV's army. Briefly, the Prince de Condé and especially Marshal Turenne are considered among the greatest tacticians of the 17th century. The young king was undoubtedly fortunate in having such generals and his greatest quality was that he recognised good generalship when he saw it. His treatment of Condé is especially notable—he pardoned his treasonable conduct, trusted him with the command of armies and was rewarded by victories during the Dutch War and the War of Devolution.

A high proportion of 17th century campaigning was spent in siege warfare, for which Louis had a taste. This called for extensive fortifications, and much of its direction was delegated to Sébastien de Vauban, a soldier of genius whose principles on the attack, defence and building of fortified places laid the foundations of modern military engineering.

The generals of the later part of the reign tend to be treated rather harshly by historians, who rightly admire the Duke of Marlborough. It is stated that Louis controlled his generals too much; but the great English commander also operated under many constraints. We often forget that the armies of Turenne were smaller and made up of career soldiers, whereas those of Luxembourg or Villars were more difficult to oversee because of their large size and the high proportion of untrained drafts. To be sure, there were some incapable courtiers in positions of command, such as Tallard or Villeroi; but what of men like Marshal Villars, whose only defeat—Malplaquet—was a tactical retreat which inflicted far more allied casualties than the French had suffered? His greatest victory at Denain in 1712 is almost ignored by English-speaking historians, yet it prevented an allied advance on France itself. Or what of Vendôme, whose only reverse was at Oudenarde in 1708, when he had to share command with the useless Duke de Bourgogne? Two years later Vendôme, in command of the Franco-Spanish armies in Spain, crushed the allies, ensuring that Philip V kept his throne. In

retrospect, the choices made by the older Louis XIV of commanders for his armies were as good as he could get, and these generals managed to keep most of Europe at bay. France's enemies never came near to marching into Paris under Louis XIV—yet this happened twice in Napoleon's short reign.

In closing, a few lines on the dress of general officers might be apposite. They did not have a regulation uniform until 1744, so quite a variety could be seen in the days of Louis XIV. Paintings of the period often show blue or scarlet coats with gold lace as the norm, although Marshal Bouffler wore a black velvet coat laced with gold at the seams with the army at Coudon in 1698. Marshal d'Huxelles preferred a plain grey coat with gold buttons in 1703. These were the days when even senior officers still charged with their troops—Villars wore a buff leather waistcoat under his coat, and his clothes collected some 17 hits (without harm to the wearer) in 1691! He was wounded at Malplaquet, but entered the entrenchments at the head of his men at Denain in 1712, wearing his buff waistcoat.

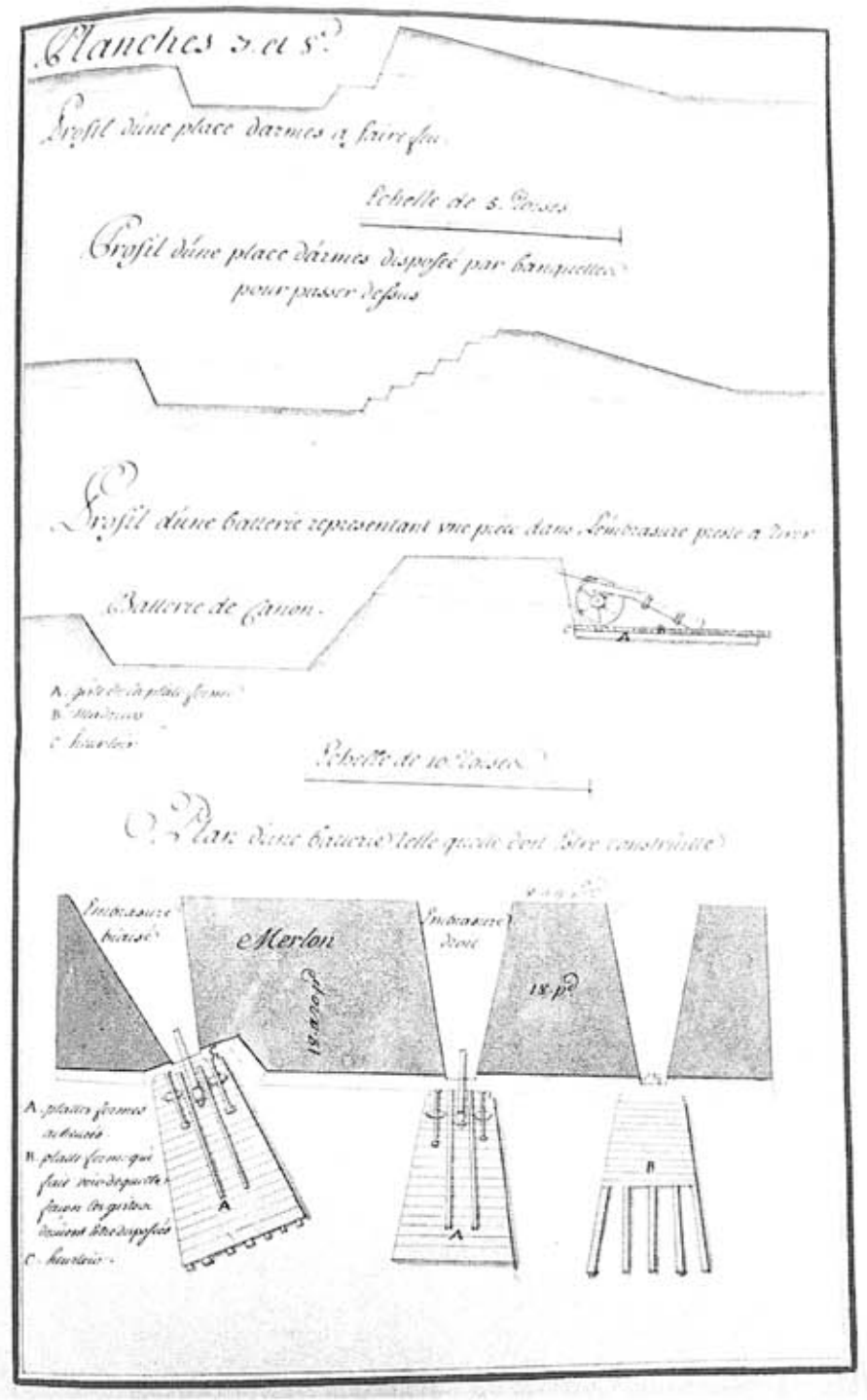
Some senior commanders were allowed a 'brevet coat' which could only be worn by permission of the king, and was therefore considered a high honour. It was blue, lined and cuffed with scarlet, with rich gold and silver patterned embroidery. Lest we leave the impression that all was fuss and feathers, let us glimpse Vendôme after the battle of Cassano in August 1705: 'He was on foot, sword in hand, his horse having been killed,' writes Chevalier de Quincy; 'his coat and waistcoat were unbuttoned, his face all in sweat, his shirt full of tobacco and dust, he looked like Mars the God of War'. Most senior generals wore the light blue silk sash of the Order of the Holy Spirit across the shoulder and from the 1690s, the scarlet silk sash of the Order of St. Louis began to appear. The one sash that all seem to have worn, either around the waist or over the shoulder, was the white sash, symbolic of France.

Having glanced at the general situation of the kingdom and the army at the time of Louis XIV, we now turn our attention to the various arms of the service. It will necessarily be a cursory look, leaving out a great many details, as our aim is to present a concise view. It was a very colourful army, however, and special attention is worth giving to uniforms and weapons.

Units, Uniforms & Weapons: Maison du Roi

The various corps of mounted and foot guard troops formed an élite body of officers and men—the Maison du Roi—which was not unlike Napoleon's Imperial Guard. They formed the cream of the army, and performed with gallantry when committed to battle. Except for companies such as the Hundred Gentlemen and the Hundred Swiss, which were essentially ceremonial and palace guards, the royal guardsmen of Louis XIV served with the armies in the field when not at the Louvre or Versailles.

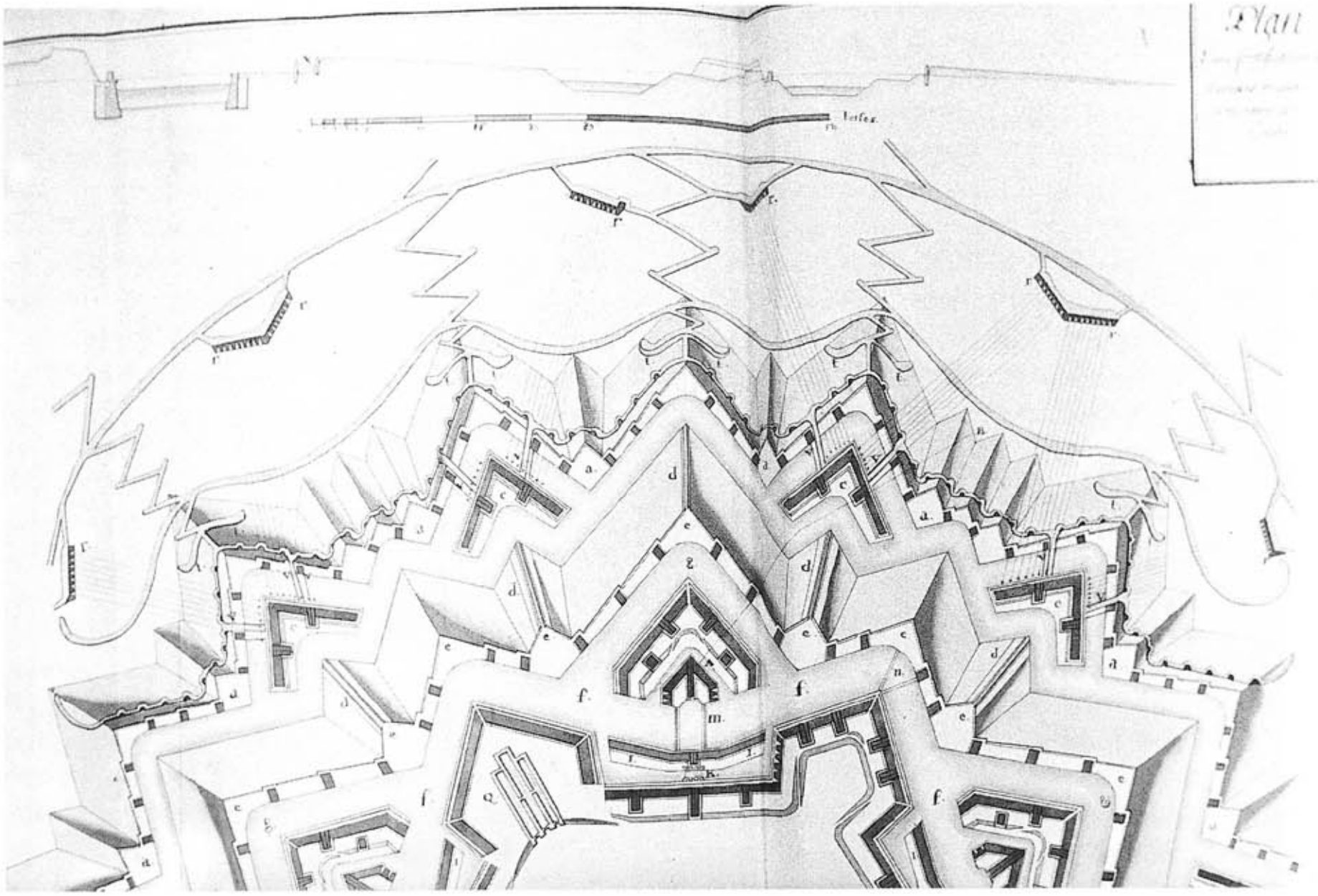
Plan for transforming enemy advanced works into emplacements for siege guns, complete with embrasures and platforms. From a manuscript of Marshal Vauban's *Attaque des Places*. (Environment Canada, Parks Fortress of Louisberg NHP)


Planches 2e et 3e
Profil dune place darmes a faire fa
Echelle de 5 Toises
Profil dune place darmes disposée par banquettes pour passer dessus
Profil dune batterie representant une pièce dans Lembrasure prete a tirer
Batterie de canon
Echelle de 10 Toises
Plan dune batterie telle quelle doit etre construite
Embrasure biaisée
Merlon
Embrasure droite
18 pds

Gardes du Corps (Body Guards)
There were four companies, numbered one to four, of which the first (Scottish) company originated in 1440. A Body Guard detachment was with the king wherever he went, posted guards where he slept, and escorted his food sword in hand from the kitchens to his table. In the 1650s, they served on foot with halberds as well as mounted with carbines. Each company had 100 men, but this was raised to 400 man cavalry companies in 1676. They wore a cassock 'of the king's colours' early on, but their officers were 'permitted' a blue coat with gold and silver lace in January 1665. Sleeveless buff leather coats with lavishly laced undercoat sleeves were worn during the War of Devolution. The whole unit adopted blue lined with red and laced with silver in about 1668. By the end of the Dutch war the silver-laced bandoliers of the companies had fixed colours: 1st, white; 2nd, blue; 3rd, green; 4th, yellow. Housings were the colour of the bandoliers except for the 1st, which usually had red, although green is reported in 1679. They were armed with pistols, swords and carbines. From 1676, rifled carbines were issued to nearly a quarter of each company.

Gendarmes de la Garde (Men-at-arms of the Guard) and the **Chevaux-Légers de la Garde** (Light Horse of the Guard). Each comprised a 200-man company, which wore scarlet cassocks in 1660. Regular uniforms were later adopted, as they are described in May 1679 wearing red coats, black hats with white plumes, white sashes, buff bandoliers and red housings. The Gendarmes had black velvet cuffs and gold lace on the coats, hats and bandoliers while the Cheveaux-Légers had red cuffs with lace of mixed gold and silver. This did not change except for the cuffs of the Gendarmes, reported as red in a 1692 list; red was worn until 1715, when the black cuffs were reinstated. Members of these units were expected to be of good birth and income. They were armed with pistols and swords.

Plan showing the investment of a first line of bastions with trenches and battery fire, which is backed by a second line of higher bastions before getting to the actual walls of the fortress. From a manuscript of Marshal Vauban's *Defence des Places*. (Environment Canada, Parks Fortress of Louisberg NHP)



Mousquetaires de la Garde (Musketeers of the Guard). Such a unit had existed under Louis XIII but had been disbanded in 1646. The first company was resurrected in 1657 and the second in 1665: they were known respectively as the 'grey' and the 'black' musketeers due to the colour of the horses of each company. They wore the celebrated blue cassock with white crosses at the front and back and at the sides. Short at first, these became longer until they almost resembled cloaks, which often got in the way; so in about 1685 Louis replaced them with a blue sleeveless coat ('*soubreveste*') with the white crosses edged in silver. The 1st Company had three red flames at each angle of the cross, while the 2nd had five golden-yellow flames. All red coats were worn by both companies from about 1673, laced with gold for the 1st Company and gold and silver mixed for the 2nd—as were their hats and bandoliers at a review recorded in 1679, where they also wore white plumes and blue ribbons. Housings were red. This was basically the dress for the rest of the reign. Their arms were at first matchlock muskets, replaced probably during the 1660s by flintlock carbines, pistols and swords. Each company had about 250 officers and men and they were present at a great many actions. D'Artagan, one of the heroes of Dumas' *Three Musketeers*, really did exist; he was Captain of the 1st Company from 1667 until his death at the siege of Maëstricht in 1673.

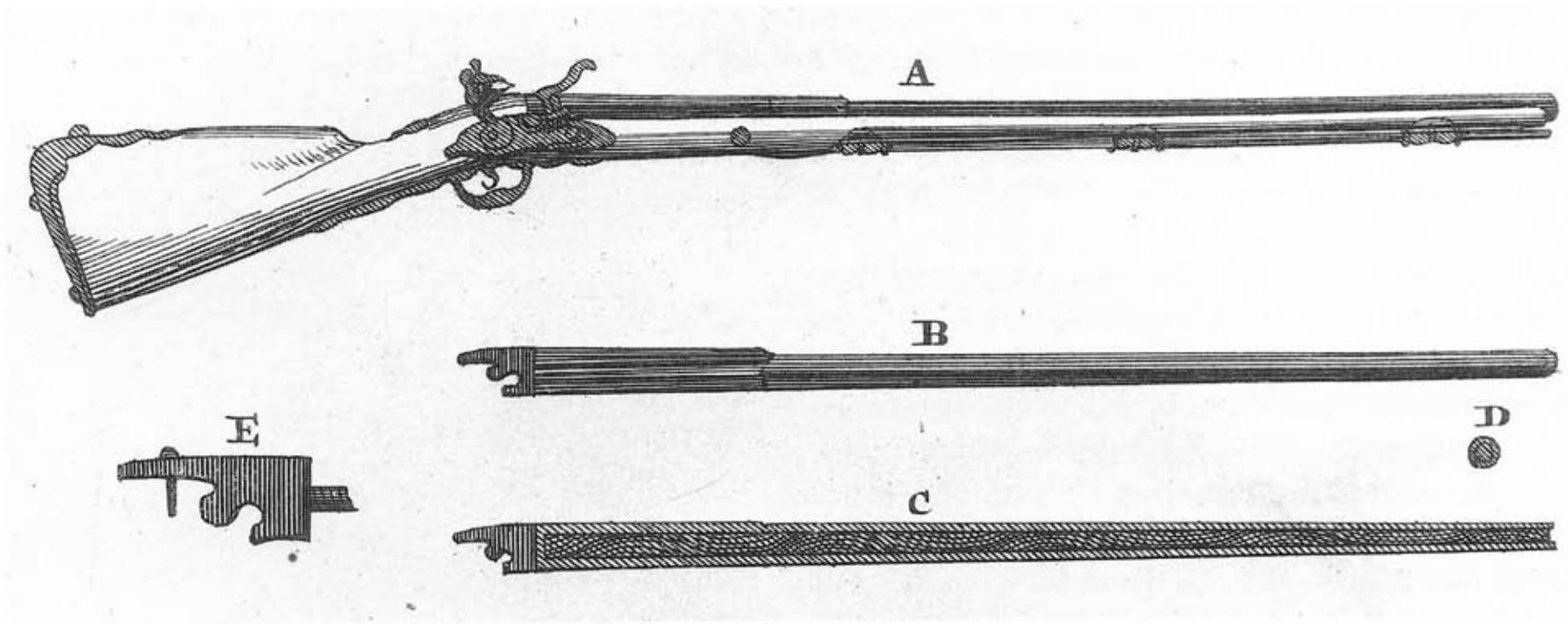
Grenadiers à cheval de la Garde (Horse Grenadiers of the Guard). This unit was a company raised in December 1676 from the bravest infantry grenadiers in the army; it had a strength of 250 men in 1696. It was meant to be the cream of the élite troops, and would be found at the head of the Maison du Roi in charges, both on horseback and on foot. It is not without interest to note that Louis would elevate a common infantry grenadier of peasant birth to 'the bravest of the brave' of his guard units. Their early uniform consisted of all-red coats, reported 'with loops' in February 1678 and 'without lace' in May 1679. The coat had changed to blue with red lining and waistcoat and large loops by 1698. Officers and men wore a distinctive cap of red cloth turned up with fur. They were armed with pistols, carbines and curved sabres, and had pouches for their grenades. All were required to

Louis-Joseph, Duke de Vendôme was one of the better generals of the latter half of the reign. He was a nephew of the king but he won the admiration of his contemporaries by his outstanding bravery; he was a 'soldier's soldier' and adored by his men. His victories over the allies at Briège and Villaviciosa in 1710, when he headed the Franco-Spanish army, ensured Philip V's place on the throne of Spain. He lies buried in the Escorial. (Private collection)

wear large black moustaches to make them look more fearsome and warlike. They were in many actions, and especially lived up to their reputation at the battle of Leuze in 1690 when their company managed to capture five enemy colours.

Gardes Françaises (French Guards). This was the infantry regiment of the guard recruited from native-born soldiers, hence its name. It was a large unit, having 30 companies of 200 men as early as 1656, rising to 40 by the 1670s, but back to 32 in 1715, divided into up to six battalions. It proved its courage and steadiness in countless sieges and battles until the last years of the reign, when its wavering at Malplaquet put a shadow on the regiment's feats at Fleureus and Steinkirk.

Uniforms were introduced to the regiment 'shortly after' 1661 according to Father Daniel, and this consisted of a grey coat laced with silver at all seams for the men, while officers had scarlet



A rifled carbine used by the Carabiniers, the Gendarmerie de France and some of the Royal Bodyguard. Except for the reinforced barrel, which was rifled inside, it was similar to ordinary smooth-bore carbines. From Saint-Rémy's 1697 *Mémoires d'Artillerie*. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

embroidered with silver. Officers were also allowed a blue coat laced with silver from January 1665. The men's uniform was described in January 1679 as grey with red waistcoat laced silver, red stockings, and black hats laced silver with white plumes. Red ribbons decorated the hats and probably the shoulders. Their buff accoutrements were edged with silver lace, and the pouch bore the device of a sun with silver rays. Sergeants wore scarlet laced with silver, with cuffs 'of different colours' according to their company, and breast-plates edged with gold. In October 1684 the king decided to change the uniform of his guard infantry. On 24 March 1685, the regiment first paraded in its new blue uniform, and the king commented that it had never looked better. This was the blue coat with red lining, cuffs, ribbons, waistcoat, breeches and stockings, white metal buttons and white lace for the men. Sergeants had the same but with silver lace edging the coat cuffs and pocket flaps from 1691. Officers had silver embroidery. Until they were abolished at the end of the 17th century, the regiment's pikemen wore a steel cuirass.

Gardes Suisses (Swiss Guards). The other guard infantry regiment was composed of Swiss soldiers in French pay. Its companies were also 200 men strong, and the number of companies varied: in 1656 there were 16, in 1672 ten and in about 1696, 12. The war record of this regiment was outstanding throughout the reign. At a review in 1663 they wore grey-blue coats lined buff and laced with gold on all seams, the officers having the same with extra lace. In January 1665 the officers were allowed blue coats with gold lace. In 1679 the musketeers wore red coats with gold buttons and their cuffs were laced; their breeches were blue, cut after the Swiss fashion with points at their knees; their hats had no plumes. The pikemen had blue coats with cuirass and helmet, while the sergeants had red coats laced with 'true gold galoon' according to John Locke's *Travels*. In October 1684 the king decided on red, and no doubt from 1685 on, the red coat with blue lining, cuffs, waistcoat, breeches and stockings, white metal buttons and lace (silver for officers) became standard. The Swiss-style breeches went out of use in about 1703.

Gendarmerie de France (Men-at-arms of France). This corps of cavalry was not technically in the Maison due Roi, although it had precedence after the guard cavalry and was not part of the line cavalry since it answered directly to the king. The king, members of the royal family and princes were its captains. It was really a reserve of the guard cavalry; and it performed outstanding service, taking part in every campaign. The oldest company was the Scottish, dating back to 1422, while the last five of its 16 companies dated from 1690. Strength could vary from 80 to 200 per company. Some companies were called 'Gendarmes' and others 'Cheveau-légers', but there was no real difference. They were armed with pistols, a sword and a rifled

carbine. All had the same uniform, which is described from the 1690s as an all-red coat with silver buttons and a silver lace around the cuffs, buff leather waistcoat, silver-laced hat, and buff bandolier edged with silver. Officers had the same but their coats had more silver lace. Housings were red laced with silver, embroidered with the arms of the captain of each company. The Gendarmerie had nothing to do with police work until disbanded in 1788, but its name was adopted by police units during the French Revolution.

Line Infantry

The line infantry was composed of two types of regiments: the 'French' units recruited from natives of the kingdom, and the Foreign regiments which were mainly Swiss and Germans and which always formed a fairly high proportion of the foot troops. In 1677, there were about 50,000 foreign soldiers out of 230,000 infantrymen. The infantry was organised in regiments having one or more battalions, the battalions having a variable number of companies, which themselves had a variable number of officers and men. The older regiments or those which had the king as colonel usually had several battalions, but most had only one battalion. In the early 1660s, there could be anything from two to 20 companies per battalion. By the early 18th century the usual rule was 13 per battalion, including one of grenadiers, each company having about 45 to 50 men. Swiss regiments usually had 200-man companies, but fewer companies per regiment.

Regiments were often named after their current colonels which meant that the name changed when a new colonel was appointed. Louvois made an effort to give provincial names to the French infantry regiments, so that very few bearing colonels' names were left by 1691. However, Louvois' successors Barbezieux (1691), Chamillard (1701) and Voysin (1709) did not have the same views. In 1714, out of 238 infantry regiments, 144 bore the name of their colonels. As a rule, Foreign regiments kept their colonels' names.

Weapons & tactics

Louis XIV's long reign saw gradual but considerable change in the types of weapons carried by infantrymen and their use on the battlefield. When Lostelneau's *Mareschal des batailles* appeared in 1647, the battalion of infantry was recommended to be half of pikemen and half of musketeers. Both pike and muskets were to be formed in eight ranks of 32 men each. This gave depth to the group of pikemen when charged by cavalry or charging themselves; while the musketeers fired by rank, and had time to reload their matchlock muskets until their rank's turn came again. The common battle formation had the pikes at the centre and the muskets on both sides. Pikemen were armed with a pike up to 5.5m long and also carried a sword. They wore armour

Musketeer of the *Gardes Francaises* wearing the uniform introduced in 1685—blue lined with red, with white buttons and lace. Note the equipment, showing the bullet bag and powder horn hanging from a buff shoulder belt. The leather flap covering the bag was usually in reddish-brown leather, decorated with the royal arms. Figure from Giffart's *Art Militaire Francais* (1696) which featured drill for musketeers, fusiliers and pikemen. From 1703, a new drill was introduced dealing with flintlock muskets only, as the use of pikes and matchlocks had been abolished. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

consisting of a helmet, breast and back plates; tassets and shoulder cops were going out of fashion except in Swiss regiments, which wore them until the end of the 17th century. Musketeers carried the heavy matchlock musket, usually of about 18.6mm calibre, with a forked rest and were also armed with a sword. They had no protective armour.

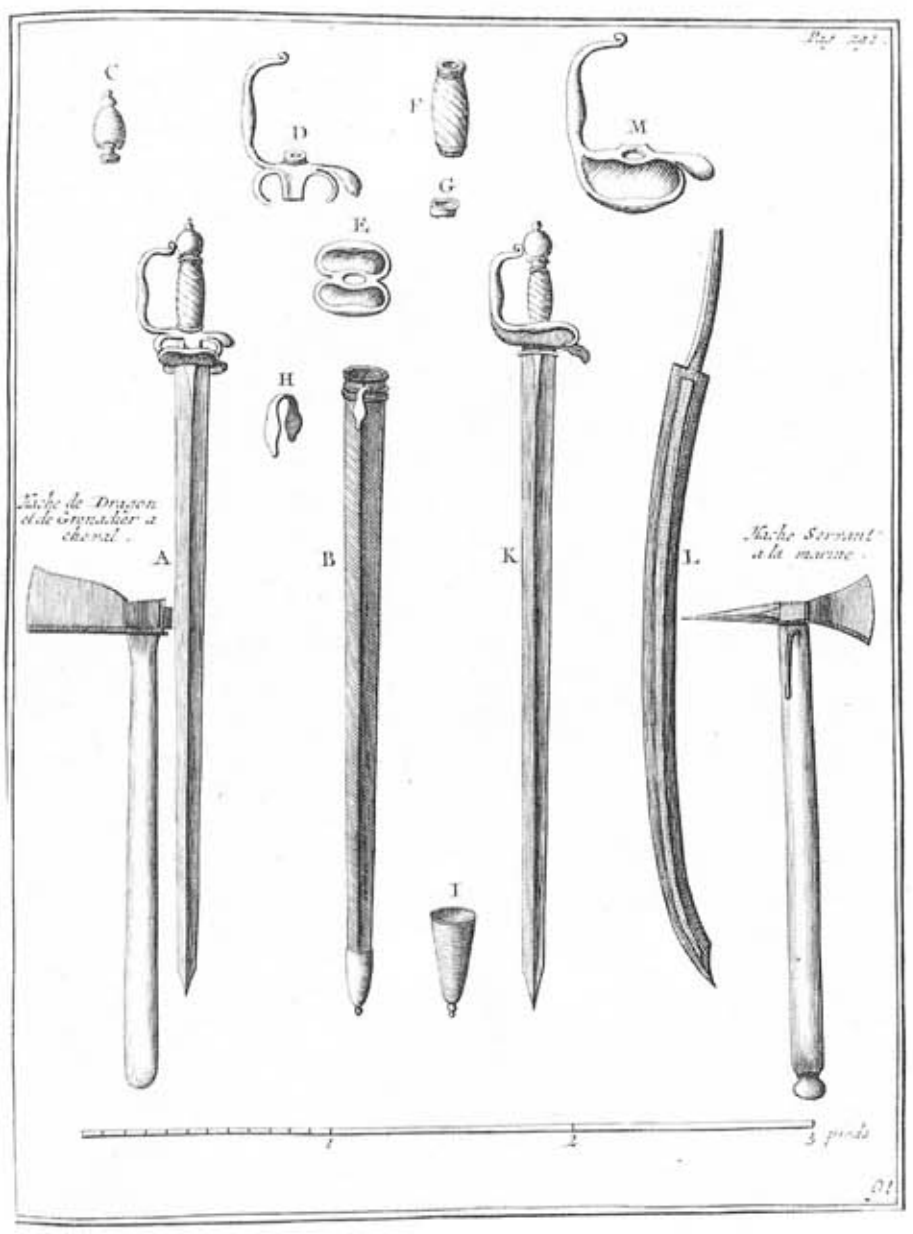
This was the 'official' formation; but the winds of change were blowing from the north, as word of Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus's successful tactics spread across Europe. He had reduced the number of pikes, thus increasing mobility and firepower. In reality, the French battalions seem to have had about 40 per cent pikes, 40 per cent matchlock muskets and 20 per cent flintlock muskets. The flintlock musket (in French *fusil*, thus the word fusilier denoting a soldier so armed) was popular as it was a lighter weapon, but it also had a smaller bore. In April 1653, a royal order prescribed that each company be one-third pikemen and two-thirds musketeers, and further that flintlocks be abolished—no doubt because of their light calibre.

A three-way theoretical struggle between the pike, the matchlock and the flintlock carried on until the early 18th century. In the field orders were often ignored, with some units replacing pikemen by some 'unofficial' fusiliers, so that the 1653 order was repeated in 1656 and 1665. In February 1670 came another royal order which reduced the number of pikemen to 20 per company of 70 men, the rest being musketeers, drummer, NCOs, and four fusiliers. The calibre of the flintlocks (and matchlocks since 1666) was for a 16mm ball, which remained standard in the French armies until well into the 19th century.

Meanwhile, in 1667, Lt.Col. Martinet had introduced the idea of having élite soldiers of the Régiment du Roi hurl grenades; and from October 1670 some 29 regiments were ordered to have a grenadier company, a practice soon adopted by all. Grenadiers were armed with flintlock muskets as well, theirs having a sling—something that was not universal for fusiliers until the next reign.

In 1671 came the formation of the Fusiliers du Roi regiment, to protect and serve the artillery, but completely armed with flintlocks and plug bayonets. In 1687 the proportion of fusiliers was raised to six per company. Matchlocks had been getting lighter, needing no rests, while flintlocks were appearing in larger calibres—but flintlocks often misfired. General Vauban's invention of the socket bayonet, and the report of the battle of Steinkirk on 3 August 1692, spelt the end of the pike: after hearing of very large numbers of soldiers throwing away their pikes to pick up the flintlocks of dead comrades, the king reduced the number of pikes to ten per company, the rest being half flintlock and half matchlock musketeers in December 1692. Flintlocks were soon the only type to be seen, and the matchlocks were at last officially abandoned on 15 December 1699. Pikes, which were still carried by Swiss units, were finally abandoned on 1 October 1703.

These developments in weapons naturally had a great influence on formations. In Turenne's days battalions would be formed six deep, but as the faster-firing flintlock musket and socket bayonet



Swords and hatchets: (A) infantry sword; (K) cavalry sword with double-edged blade (also called a sabre); (L) curved blade for a sabre (used by grenadiers); (B) sword scabbard; figures C–M are various sword and scabbard parts. On the left, a hatchet for Dragoons, on the right a naval boarding axe. From Saint-Rémy's 1697 *Mémoires d'Artillerie*. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

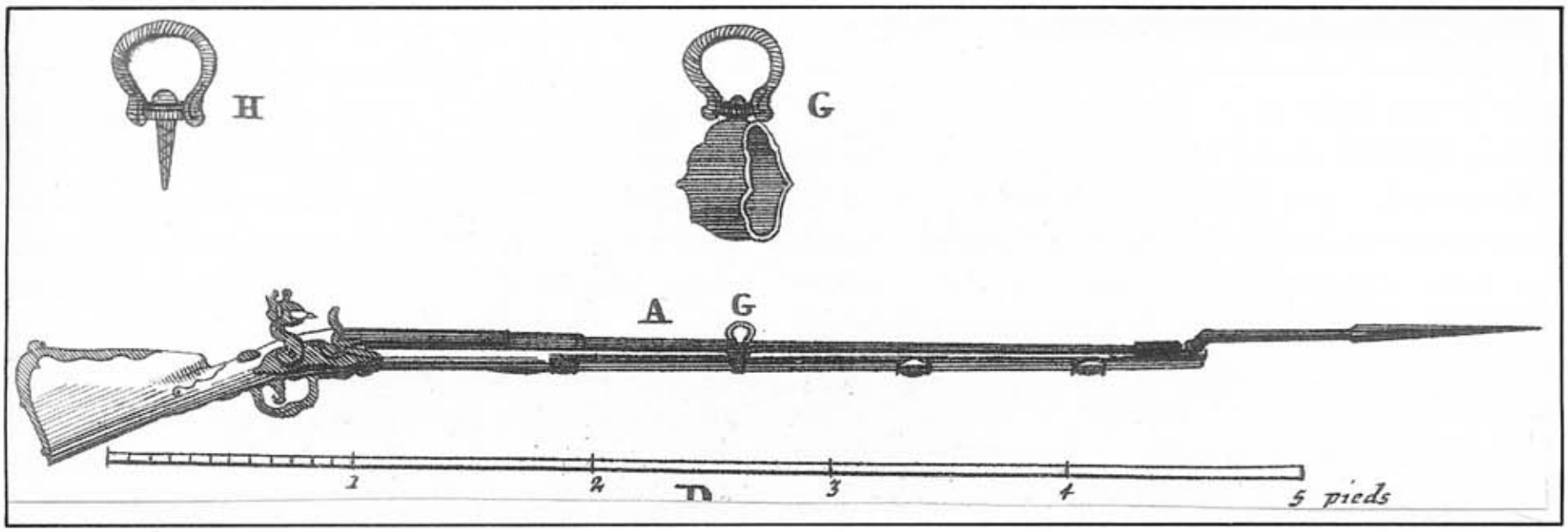
Possibly the earliest representation of a grenadier is this plate from Mallet's 1672 edition of *Les Traveaux de Mars*. Except for the bag full of grenades the dress of these élite soldiers was similar to that of the rest of their regiment, although some subsequently adopted dragoon-type caps. A moustache can be seen, and was to be the grenadiers' distinction for many years to come. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

became universal ranks became three deep and the battalion frontage much wider. There was no grander sight than an army lined up ready to receive battle or marching into it, according to the Chevalier de Quincy; and it is indeed impressive to visualise the lines of regiments in their colourful uniforms, weapons glinting, colours in the wind, marching into the mortal hell of a battle. The infantry would usually be in two lines, the front or battle line and the reserve line about 250 paces behind. The larger armies made for battle lines which were several kilometres wide, since neither side wanted to be outflanked. The musket range was about 235 metres, but its 'useful' range was half that or even closer if possible. Army commanders found new difficulties in trying to control movement on such a wide scale, which was especially evident of some battles of the War of Spanish Succession.

The armament of regimental officers consisted of a spontoon, which was ordered to be 2.27m to 2.6m long in 1690 since shorter ones had previously been seen. Some officers carried flintlock muskets on campaign at the turn of the 18th century; and in November 1710 subaltern officers were assigned flintlocks with bayonets while captains and field officers were ordered to carry spontoons. Sergeants carried halberds, which were to be 2.11m long from 1683. The older axe-bladed model was officially replaced in around 1707 by the partisan-styled model, nevertheless also called halberd, with wavy blades on both sides. Although half of the sergeants in Gen. Broglie's battalions on the Italian border had flintlocks in 1710, halberds were carried on other fronts. All carried a sword, gilded or silver-plated for officers and often sergeants as well, and usually brass-hilted and of indifferent quality for the men.

The musketeer's basic equipment consisted of a buff bandolier slung over the left shoulder holding a ball bag and the 12 charges in the cylindrical containers which the humour of the time had baptised 'the Twelve Apostles'. Another buff

French soldiers near the town of Grey in Franche Comté, during the Dutch War. Note the details of equipment—for instance the haversacks either slung over a shoulder or held by two straps—systems which remained until 1767. Detail of a print after Van der Meulen. (National Library of Canada)



Flintlock musket from Saint-Rémy's *Mémoires d'Artillerie*.The swivels for the sling were for grenadiers and dragoons; Other troops usually had no slings. Note also the long branched socket bayonet, invented by Vauban in 1687; this was the usual model until *c.*1717. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

bandolier over the right shoulder held the sword. In December 1683 new equipment was introduced, consisting of a buff waist-belt with a sword frog on the left side, and a bullet bag with a leather flap from which hung a small powder horn on a cord. By the late 1680s the bullet bag and powder horn were again carried from a buff shoulder belt, but the sword belt remained. In the 1690s the ventral cartridge box, with a wooden form drilled for nine or ten cartridges, was introduced, and slowly became the standard equipment. The powder horn was improved with a brass measuring spout and hung from its own narrow buff sling over the left shoulder. Officers and sergeants had shoulder sword belts, embroidered or edged with lace, until the early 1680s when waistbelts came into fashion. Officers on duty were required to wear gorgets, which were of polished steel in German regiments, silvered in Swiss regiments and gilded in French and other units.

Grenadiers had, besides their flintlock muskets, sabres instead of swords. Their grenades were carried in a large leather pouch slung over the left shoulder on a buff leather belt four inches wide. All grenadier officers and sergeants were armed with muskets and bayonets instead of polearms.

Uniforms

As seen above, the Royal Guard units adopted uniforms in the 1660s. In the line infantry a start was made at the same time, and in 1666 the Carignan-Salières regiment in Canada was in brown lined with grey or white, while Lyonnois was seen in grey with red lining, stockings and ribbons at a review near Paris. Frémont d'Ablancourt's *Memoirs* claimed that the French corps serving under Gen. Schomberg in Portugal against the Spanish adopted grey uniforms lined with different colours in imitation of English regiments. Whatever the inspiration, a royal order of December 1666 instituted a deduction from soldiers' pay for clothing. This made the provision of regimental clothing an administrative task which could yield some profits for captains and colonels—a sure way to get the infantry into uniforms.

During 1667 the Dauphin's (Crown Prince's) regiment wore grey with cuffs and stockings of a distinctive colour for each of its five 100-man companies although blue was later worn by the whole unit. The Régiment du Roi seems to have adopted its grey coat with blue lining at about the same time. Its officers were reported in uniforms laced with silver and gold in 1667.

It is often stated that uniforms were adopted by the French infantry in 1670: actually it was a gradual process, starting in the 1660s and probably not completed until the later 1670s if we are to believe some of the battle pictures of the time. Another generalisation is that French regiments adopted grey with blue or red facings while Swiss regiments adopted red coats, German blue coats and Italian brown coats. While this is broadly true with regard to French units, contemporary descriptions give us much more variety for the Foreign infantry. The Swiss had not only red but also blue, yellow and even green coats, and also wore their baggy breeches with 'points' until the

early 18th century. Variety could be seen among Walloon units as well; in 1679 Famechon's regiment was in red lined with blue while Vierzet's wore brown lined with blue. The hues of colours were far from precise, 'grey' being anything from grey-white to a steel grey. The dyes then available were not fast, so that the blues, reds, browns, etc., would undoubtedly vary, especially after some time in the field.

Descriptions of the whole army have yet to be found, but from the 1690s coat and lining colours for many units are indicated; the information given below is mainly from documents of 1692, 1698 and 1702. The word 'lining' always meant the coat cuff as well as its lining until *c.*1700, when it sometimes only applied to cuffs, the actual lining being the coat colour. Details such as button or waistcoat colours are scarce, but are given if found. Hat lace was of the button colour and white cockades were usually worn. The nationality of Foreign units is given by a letter in brackets: (S) Swiss, (I) Italian, (G) German, (W) Walloon:

Grey lined grey: Picardie (red waistcoat & ribbons); Champagne; Navarre (brass buttons, red waistcoat & ribbons); Auvergne; Vaubecourt/1695 Nettancourt/1704 Mailly; Crussol (red waistcoat, red & white ribbons); Bourbonnois. Piedmont and La Marine had brass buttons for the men, black velvet cuffs for the officers and sergeants. Normandie had the same but white metal buttons.

Grey lined blue: Du Roi (blue waistcoat and probably breeches & stockings, dark yellow buttonhole lace on the coat for the men, gold for officers); Poitou; Dauphin (blue waistcoat & stockings, red ribbons); Anjou; Maine; Royal-Vaisseaux; La Couronne; Royal-la-Marine; Languedoc (brass buttons, dark yellow edging lace, dark yellow & red ribbons); Toulouse; Saintonge; Soissonnois; Dauphiné; Lamar (1); Saint-Germain-Beaupré (1702–14, brass buttons, blue waistcoat, breeches & stockings).

Grey lined red: Lyonnois (red waistcoat); Humières/1702 Charost/1709 Béthune; La Reine (blue waistcoat, pewter buttons, red ribbons); Rouergue; Vermandois; Aunis; Sève/1702 Choiseul/1705 Murat (brass buttons, red stockings, grey-white coat lining); Montluc/1707 Larivière-Castéras (brass buttons, red stockings, grey-white coat lining); Maillé 1705–14 (black cuffs, brass buttons).

Grey lined green: Lorraine; Solre (W); Perri (Corsican). *Grey lined yellow* (1692); Guiche. *Grey lined brown*: Ponthieu. *Brown lined red*: Royal-Italien (yellow waistcoat & ribbons); Provence (changed to grey-white with red cuffs, waistcoat & stockings, brass buttons, silver hat lace after 1702).

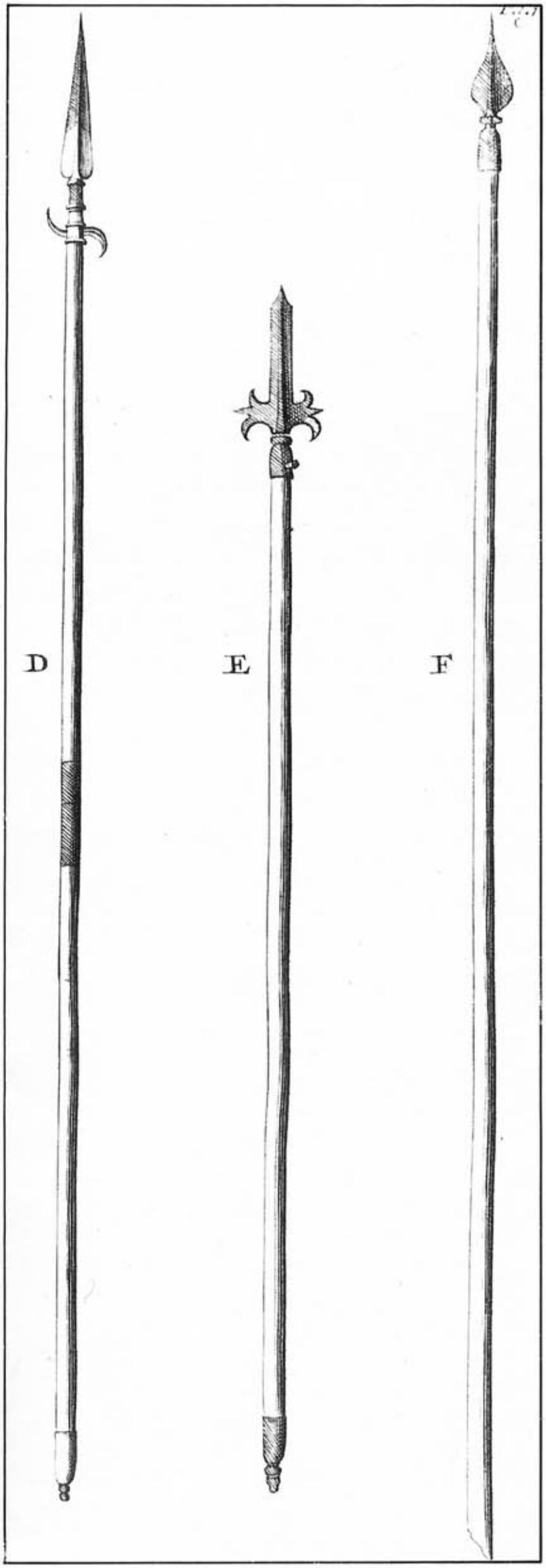
Blue lined red: Zurlauben (G); Stuppa-jeune (S); Stuppa-vieux (S); Hessy (S); Monnin (S) 1690–8; Porlier (S); Erlach/1694 Manuel/1701 Villars-Chandieu (S); Nice (I); Yoël/1692–8 Royal-Danois (Danish). *Blue lined yellow*: Greder (G) (blue waistcoat, white edging lace, pewter buttons).

Red lined blue: Famechon/1697 Isenghien (W); Monroux (I). *Red lined green*: Salis (S); Greder (S); Lee (Irish) (red waistcoat, white buttonhole lace). *Red lined yellow*: Reynold (S). *Red lined red*: Royal-Roussillon (red waistcoat).

Yellow lined red: Surbeck (G); Pfyffer [1692] (S); Courten (S). *Green lined red*: Schellemberg (S) 1690–8.

From the 1660s the king wanted his officers in regimental uniforms, and most did as the king wished. Officers of Lyonnois, Du Roi, Carigan-Salières and no doubt many others wore uniforms at an early date, although there was apparently still a need for royal reminders for the independent-

Infantry musketeer putting his sword 'on guard' during the 1670s. He is equipped with the buff belt with charges and a shoulder belt for the sword, embellished by a decorative pattern. Detail from a plate in Gaya's 1678 *Traité des Armes*. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)



An officer's spontoon (D), a sergeant's halberd (E), and a pikeman's pike (F). Detail from a plate in Saint-Rémy's 1697 *Mémoires d'Artillerie*. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

minded for some time thereafter. There can be no doubt that these wishes were eventually respected since even princes of the royal blood wore the uniforms of their regiments. Rank distinction was attempted by the amount of lace on a coat. In the 1660s officers of Lyonnois wore a broad gold lace for captains and a narrow one for lieutenants. A clothing bill of 1705 tells us that the captains of Maillé had fully gold laced coats, while lieutenants had only laced buttonholes at the cuffs—an indication that this was a commonly accepted general principle which varied in details.

Sergeants usually wore the regimental uniform in better-quality cloth than the men, with gold or silver buttons and hat lace. Sometimes the coat was laced as well, usually at the cuff. However, in some units sergeants had a different uniform.

Drummers did not wear the regimental uniform but a livery. For royal and provincial regiments this was the king's livery, which consisted of a blue coat line with red. The livery lace design varied until about the 1680s, when it became a white chain on crimson. The regiments which bore their colonels' names, be they French or Foreign, wore the livery of their colonels. These are now largely unknown, but from the surviving descriptions they were very colourful: Crussol had white lined red, Humières yellow lined red with a black lace edged white, etc. Drums were normally painted in the coat colour with the king's or the colonel's coat of arms.

Militia

As noted above, the militia instituted by Louvois in November 1688 was a source of considerable manpower for the infantry. The first 25,000 draftees were instructed to be provided by their villages with hats, coats, breeches and stockings, usually all in grey. This was no doubt the dress of the 30 Provincial Militia regiments existing between 1689 and 1698. A few units added colourful touches: for instance, the Soissonnois militia had red linings. The two Alsace militia regiments even had caps for their grenadiers in 1697. At first, bachelors between 20 and 40 years old were called up for two years' service. Most of the 1689 regiments only saw garrison duty in their province. The abuse of the system during the War of Spanish Succession made the Provincial Militia very unpopular due to its being used to provide recruits for line regiments at

the front. There were several other types of militia in the kingdom. Cities had Bourgeois Militia units, usually composed of the well-to-do, whose companies were often distinguished by ribbons and sashes of various colours, and by the 1690s many had fine uniforms. The Bourgeois Militia of Nancy had white with red cuffs, waistcoats and breeches; the mounted Gendarmes of Rochefort had scarlet, etc. The advantage for the bourgeois was that service in these corps exempted them from being called up for the Provincial Militia. Their military worth was questionable, but they were useful for police duties. Another type was the 'Arrière-Ban', a call up of the gentry to assist the armies. The 5,000 country gentlemen called up in September 1674 knew no discipline, and spent October pillaging Lorraine before Turrene sent them riding back home in November. Although they were subsequently called again, the value of these troops was doubtful. With the Coastguard Militia we are on firmer ground, as they performed useful duties watching enemy shipping and chasing after would-be raiders. They were organised into parish companies all along the seaboard of France and those areas were not liable to Provincial Militia service.

Infantry musketeer wearing the new waist belt introduced in December 1683 to replace the shoulder belts. The bullet bag is visible as well as a small priming horn attached to the belt; a larger powder horn is slung on a string over the shoulder. The bullet bag and powder horn were soon to be carried on their own shoulder belt, but the sword belt was retained. Detail from an engraving in Mallet's 1684 edition of *Les Travaux de Mars*. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

Line Cavalry

During the reign of Louis XIV what we would call the heavy cavalry was often named the 'cavalerie légère' or light cavalry: it was considered light because it did not wear heavy armour as in the previous reign. Light cavalry as we understand it emerged in the 1690s with the first hussars. However, the vast majority of the mounted arm consisted of what we would term heavy cavalry and it was not a very permanent establishment in the early years of the reign. In 1659 there were 112 regiments, but a couple of years later only four

1: Pikeman, Régt. Douglas, c.1667-69
2: Musketeer, Régt. Furstenberg, c.1669
3: Musketeer, Régt. Lyonnais, 1666

1: Musketeer, Régt. des Gardes Françaises, c.1678-79
2: Garde du Corps, 4th Co., c.1675-80
3: Grenadier à Cheval, c.1676-80

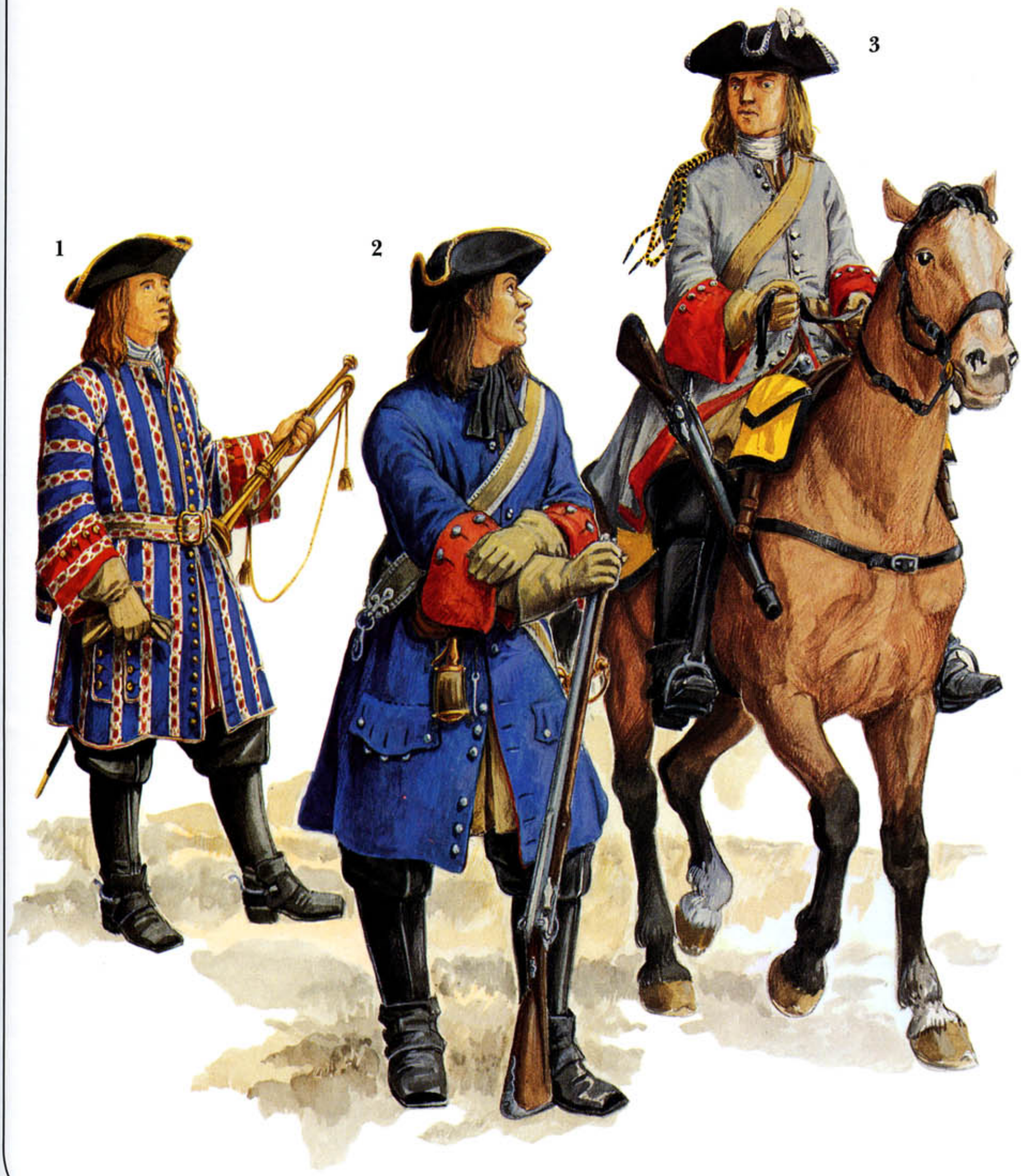
1: Musketeer, Régt. Garde Suisse, c.1678-79
2: Musketeer, Régt. Vierzet, c.1679
3,4: Troopers, line cavalry, c.1671-80
5: Fusilier, Régt. des Fusiliers du Roi, c.1680

1: Dragoon, Régt. Hautefort-Dragon, c.1698
2: Dragoon, Régt. des Dragons du Roi, c.1698
3: Dragoon, Régt. Tessé-Dragon, 1680
4: Officer, Régt. Colonel-Général des Dragons, 1680

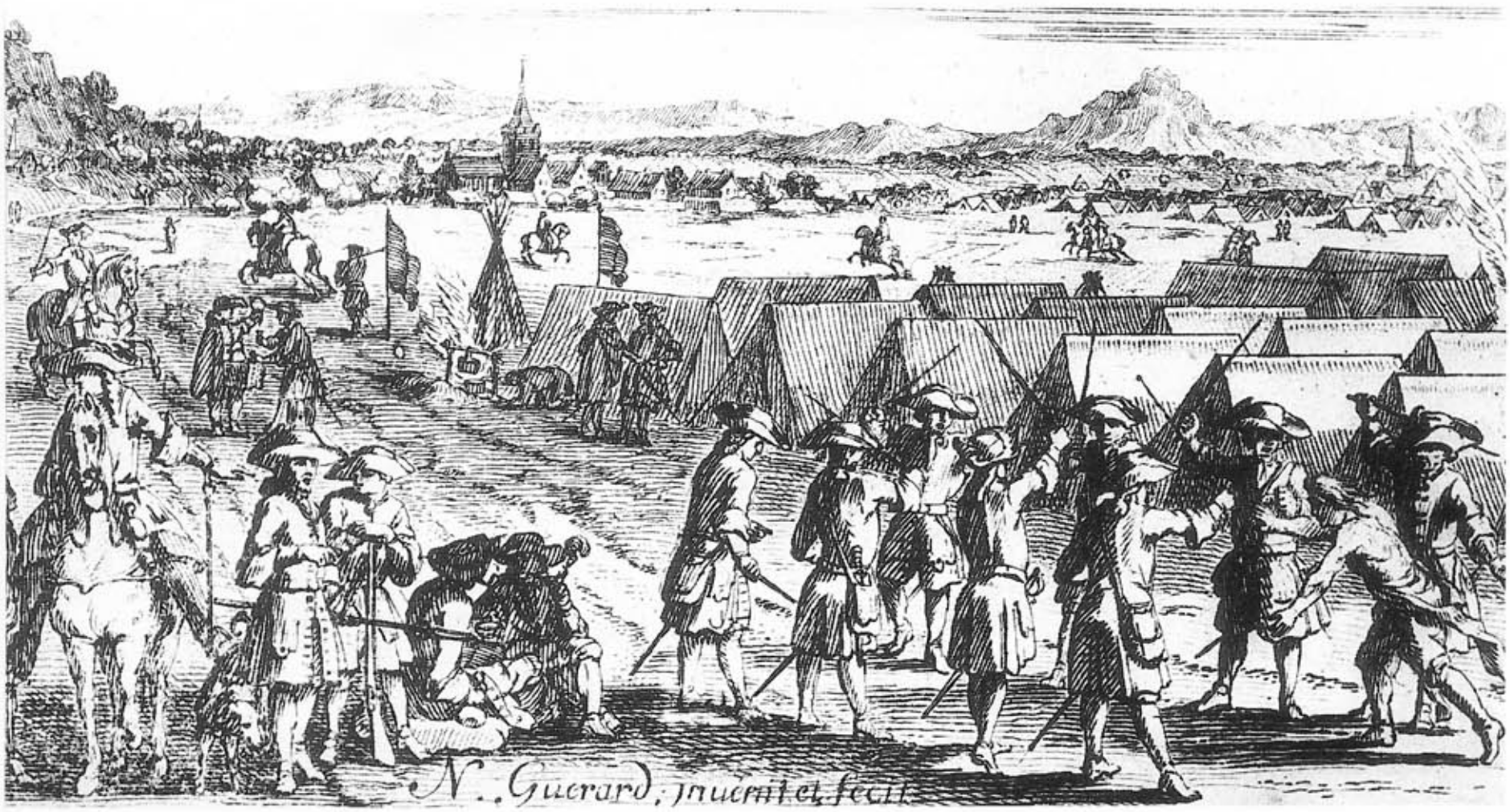
1: Grenadier, Régt. de la Reine, c.1692-98
2: Militiaman, Provincial Militia, 1688-97
3: Musketeer, Régt. des Gardes Françaises, c.1685-97

1: Fusilier, Régt. de Navarre, c.1690-1700
2: Gunner, Régt. Royal-Bombardiers, c.1690-1700
3: Sergeant, Régt. de Provence, c.1690-96
4: Fusilier, Régt. Erlach, c.1690-1700

1: Cavalry trumpeter of royal regiment, c.1695-1715
2: Trooper, Régt. Royal-Carabinier, c.1693-1715
3: Trooper, Régt. Cossé, c.1695-1715



1: Drummer, Régt. Saint-Germain-Beaupré, 1702-14
2: Fusilier, Régt. Montluc, 1702-1707
3: Lieutenant colour-bearer, Régt. Maillé, 1705-14



Soldier running the gauntlet, *c.*1695; this was the usual punishment for stealing from fellow-soldiers. While exemplary punishment could be extremely severe, harsh practices such as floggings were considered 'inhumane' as normal punishment. Engraving after Gérard. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

remained. The rest had been disbanded or reduced to independent companies, which were expanded into regiments again from 1665. The office of Colonel-Général was not abolished as in the infantry, but became a largely empty title after 1694, when the Minister of War had inspectors reporting directly to him.

At the end of the War of Devolution, the cavalry stood at 95 regiments; but the king was not pleased with their performance, and all were reduced from regiments to 100-man companies. In February 1670 the companies were split in two and organised into 66 squadrons. Marshal Turenne was then the Colonel-Général of Cavalry and worked toward creating a reliable and disciplined corps. In 1671 each squadron was doubled to 200 men and divided into three companies.

The royal order of 4 February 1672 saw the beginning of the permanent establishment of the cavalry. The 66 existing squadrons were all made into regiments, and 52 of them had their strength raised to six companies each of 54 men—though strengths varied greatly in the years that followed. Each company was commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet (called officially a sub-lieutenant after 1684) and a '*maréchal-des-logis*' (adjutant). There was only one superior officer initially, the *mestre-de-camp* or colonel, but he was joined by a lieutenant-colonel and a major during 1685–6. The senior regiments had permanent names but the vast majority were named after their current colonel. The fluctuations in numbers of regiments continued, although about 60 would be kept in being in peacetime. By the end of the Dutch War in 1678 there were 90 regiments; and though many were disbanded, the strength was back to 102 in 1690. The peak was reached during the War of Spanish Succession, when the number of regiments rose to 108.

Weapons and uniforms

The basic weapon was the sword, whose heavy straight blade was ordered to be 89.3cm long in March 1676; the guard was usually of brass with a single branch. A pair of flintlock pistols and a carbine completed the armament. The carbine was hooked to a buff shoulder belt and the pistols were carried in holsters fixed to the front of the saddle. The sword was carried on a buff shoulder belt, but this was changed from 1684 to a waist belt which was also to support a small cartridge box holding 12 charges.

In the same way that the infantry had its

Infantry officer and pikeman, *c.*1684. The officer has his regimentals laced at the front, at the seams and at the pockets; a bunch of ribbons is attached at his right shoulder. His cravat has embroidery, although his bow and possibly the heels of his shoes would be red. His sword hangs from a laced waist belt which became fashionable from *c.*1680, and he holds a spontoon. The pikeman is typical of these soldiers in the 1680s and '90s, when only the Swiss regiments retained the hats and helmets. Except for the cuirass and long pike, the dress is similar to that of musketeers. From Mallet's 1684 edition of *Les Travaux de Mars*. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

grenadiers, by a royal order of 26 December 1679 two élite cavalrymen were to be selected per company, called 'carabiniers' and given rifled carbines. In October 1690 they were formed into their own company. On 1 November 1693 these companies were grouped into a new unit called Royal-Carabiniers, 100 companies strong—a sort of élite reserve cavalry division. Apart from the rifled carbine, they had the same weapons as other cavalrymen.

Cavalry of the 1660s wore buff leather coats and breeches, reinforced boots, buff leather gauntlet gloves, felt hats and cloaks. The white sash identified them as French, since this basic dress was common to cavalrymen over much of Europe. In November 1671, a royal order instructed that the cavalry were to have buff leather coats, cloaks and good boots, and be 'dressed in good grey cloth lined in the same colour', except for the royal units. These were to 'be dressed in dark blue . . . that all cavalrymen have black hats . . . and that the trumpets of the companies wear the liveries' of their *mestre-de-camp*. This order set the standard well into the 18th century. The buff coat became a waistcoat in time, and the white sash was given up by the 1690s. Aiguillettes were worn at the right shoulder.

The great majority of the 'grey regiments' adopted red as the facing colour, shown on the turned-back cuff. Although the order specifies grey for the lining, 'red lining' is often mentioned as well. Regimental distinctions were provided by the colour of the housings, which were of the livery of the colonels; these are now almost unknown, but a few are mentioned at a 1698 review. La Feronaye's

French coat now preserved in the Swedish army museum, said to have been sent by Louis XIV to Charles XI of Sweden, which served as the inspiration of the model 1687 Swedish uniform. It is dark blue lined with red with a red detachable cuff, giving the impression that the foresleeve was from a waistcoat. All seams, edges and buttonholes are yellow, with yellow metal buttons. Photo taken in 1964 at the Franco-Swedish Exhibition in Paris.

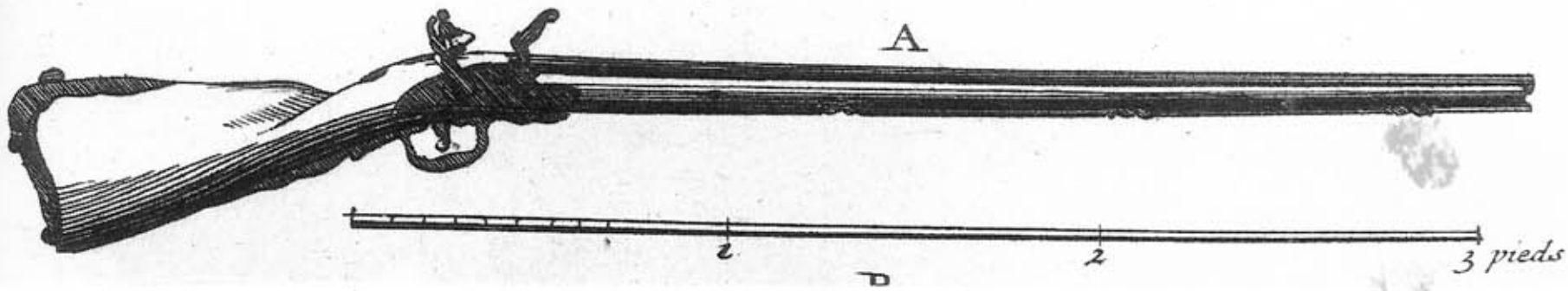
had green housings, La Vallière's and Cossé's yellow, and Villequier's was red. According to a 1692 list, grey lined with blue was worn by Fiennes, Souastre, Châtelet, Bissy, Nassau and 2nd Châtelet. Blue lined with red was worn by Royal, Le Roi, Royal-Etranger, Cuirassiers-du-Roi (which wore breast and back plates), Royal-Cravattes, Royal-Piedmont, Dauphin, Royal-Allemand (about half was dressed 'Polish style' with fur caps), Berry (orange-yellow buttonhole lace), Grand-Royaux and Anjou. Royal-Roussillon had blue lined with blue. Noailles is reported in red lined with red in 1692, but had grey with red cuffs in 1698. Royal-Carabinier, raised in 1693, had blue lined with red, pewter buttons, and buff belts edged with white leather.

Officers wore the same uniform as their corps but of finer cloth with silver or gold lace and buttons. They were to wear a cuirass after 1675, and had to be reminded to do so in 1705. Those of Royal-Carabiniers had silver-laced scarlet waistcoats and white plumes to their silver-laced hats. Trumpeters and kettle-drummers wore the livery of the king in blue-coated regiments, or of their colonels in the others, which rule also applied to trumpet and drum banners bearing embroidered coats of arms. La Reine's would wear the queen's livery, red lined with blue with a white chain on blu lace; Condé's scheme was yellow lined with red with red velvet lace; Villars' was brown lined with red laced silver, and Villeroi's green lined and laced with orange.

Coat said to have been sent by Louis XIV to Charles XI of Sweden in the 1680s, preserved at the Swedish army museum in Stockholm. The garment is dark blue lined red, with red cuffs, red piping edging the pocket flaps and shoulder strap, and brass ball buttons. An aiguillette of dark blue, white, red and yellow mixed cord with brass tips is at the right shoulder. The *Mercure Galant* of June 1687 reports the new fashion of 'bizarre' pocket flaps cut in chevrons or zig-zags which would date this coat fairly closely. These photos were taken at the Franco-Swedish Exhibition where the coat was displayed in 1964.

Hussars

The value of the Hungarian cavalry, who were considered semi-barbarians, was not lost on the French who were often annoyed by these fleet light



A cavalry carbine from Saint-Rémy's *Mémoires d'Artillerie* first published in Paris, 1697. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

cavalrymen. They were excellent scouts and superb raiders. In 1692 the first hussar regiment in the French army was raised from enemy deserters, and became Hussars-Royaux. This was disbanded in 1698, but cadres were retained in the Royal-Allemand cavalry until 1705, when the unit was re-raised as Versailles-Hussars. In 1701 Saint-Géniez (1707 Rattsky) was raised. The dress and equipment was very exotic. They had curved sabres, wore a tight light blue jacket with small red cuffs, and had white lace and buttons at the breast. Pelisses were of wolfskin for the men. They shaved their heads except for a single scalp lock, wore long moustaches, and had red caps turned up with fur. They gave good service; and hussars have been part of the French cavalry ever since.

* * *

Dragoons

This arm of the service was the 17th-century version of mounted infantry, since dragoons were intended to fight on foot like infantry but use horses for quick movement. For this reason, they were considered part of the infantry although they were increasingly engaged in horsed combat. From 1689 dragoon regiments took precedence with the cavalry except during sieges, when they would revert to the infantry. Although there were only two dragoon regiments until 1669, they became especially fashionable thereafter, so that even after their disbandment at the end of the Dutch War, 14 regiments remained on the peace establishment (about 10,000 men). The peak was reached in 1690 with 43 dragoon regiments, but only 15 remained by 1699. A dozen more were raised from 1702, but the peace establishment came back to 15 regiments in 1715. In general terms, these units were organised somewhat like the line cavalry, and usually bore their colonels' names.

The armament and equipment of dragoons was similar to that of line cavalry, except that they had long flintlock muskets rather than the shorter carbines, and had a pistol in one holster and a short axe or a spade in the other. Accoutrements were like those of the cavalry, but dragoons did not wear the heavy reinforced boots: instead, they had shoes and black leather gaiters, laced or buckled at the side and reaching above the knees.

They wore caps with a falling bag and a cloth or fur turn-up instead of hats, which remained their distinction until the mid-18th century. Their uniforms were amongst the most colourful in the army. None of the regiments wore grey, and red, blue, yellow and green coats were popular. They had cloth breeches and waistcoats. There were many changes, impossible to chronicle fully here, so we will give the earlier dress of some representative regiments to give an idea of the appearance of this arm of Louis' army. This summary is based on documents of 1680, 1692 and 1698.

Colonels-Général had scarlet coats lined blue with silver buttons and buttonholes, scarlet caps with a blue plush turn-up held by silver buttonhole lace. Le Roi had blue lined with red, blue cap with red turn-up held by gold buttonhole lace. La Reine had red lined with blue. Dauphin had blue lined with blue (lined red with pewter buttons by 1698), blue caps with fur turn-up. Tessé had yellow lined with red, and a yellow cap with fur turn-up bearing a gold sun badge and a white feather in 1680; it became Mestre de Camp Général in 1685, reported in red lined with blue in 1692 and lined red in 1698. Fimarcon had green lined buff in 1680, lined green by 1692. Asfeld/1696 Hautefort had green lined with red, green cap with red turn-up; in 1698 they also had gold buttonhole lace. Listenois had buff

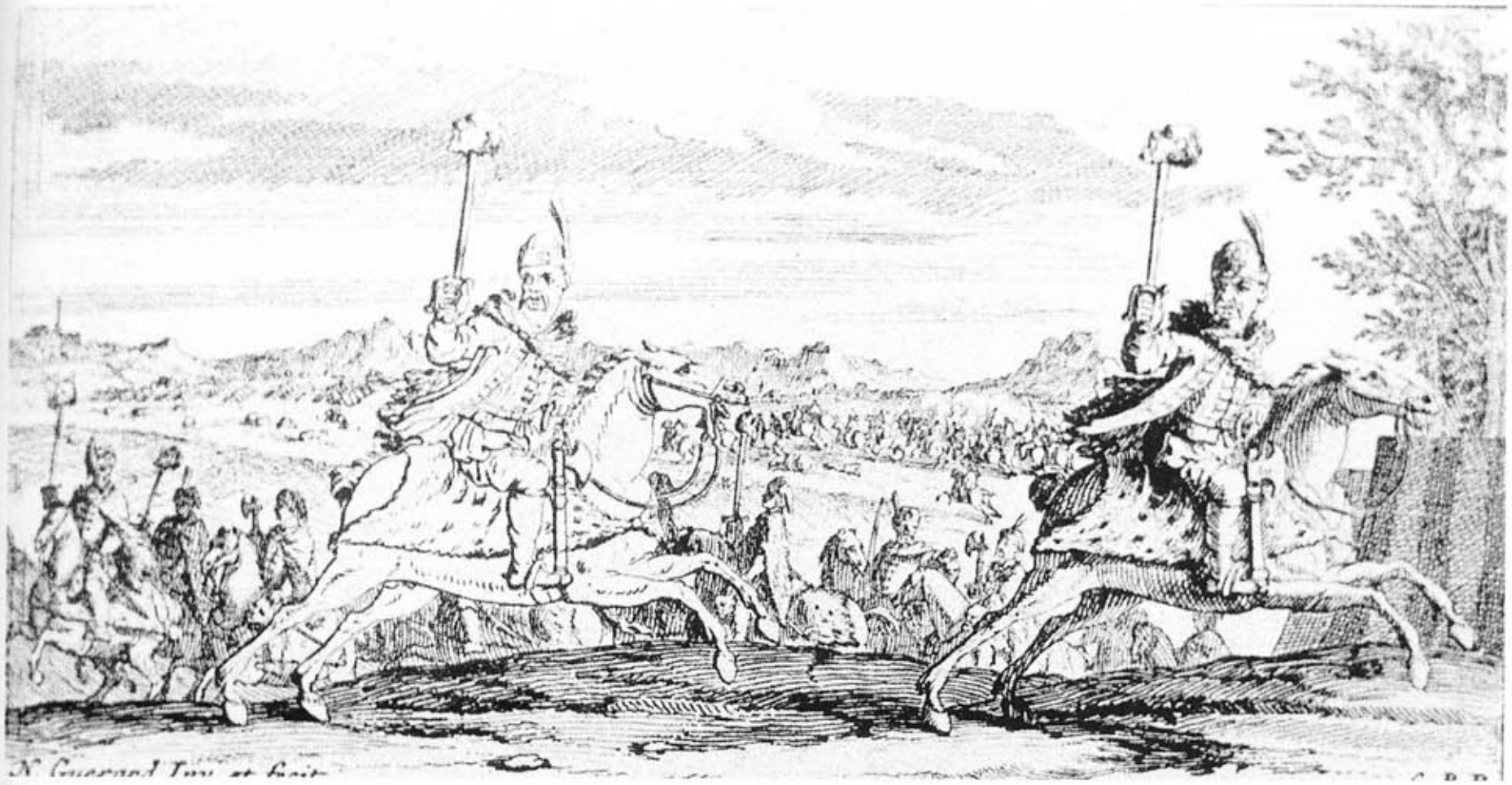
Cavalry and dragoons, *c.*1695. The dragoons had caps, leather gaiters and muskets with slings, whereas the cavalrymen wore hats, reinforced boots and carried carbines. Dragoons had colourful uniforms, but most cavalry had grey with red cuffs. Engraving after Guérard. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

lined with blue in 1680, and caps of the same colours with silver lace; while La Lande had yellow lined with red, with caps also laced silver. In the 1690s, red lined with yellow is given for Pomponnes/1692 Fontbeausard, Wartigny, Verrue; red lined with red for Silly/1693 Paysac; red lined with green for Asfeld-Etranger, Marquis de Grammont, etc.

Artillery

Until the 1660s, artillerymen were individuals posted in garrison towns which would be grouped into temporary units, or 'trains', for a campaign. They were considered specialists rather than fighting troops, and soldiers were assigned to protect them and the guns. The artillery pieces they served had last been standardised in 1572 and went by exotic names like 'couleuvrine' or 'bâtarde'. The Grand Master of Artillery enjoyed considerable power in all aspects of the service. The reform-minded Louis and Louvois first brought in new standard calibres in 1666—4-, 8-, 12-, 24- and 33-pounders. These pieces were fairly long and heavy, and from the 1680s some short and lighter 4- and 8-pdrs. were brought into service. Mortars were in calibres of 6 in. to 12 in. and 18 inches. The guns and mortars were usually cast in brass and were superbly decorated. The gun carriages were painted red with black ironwork.

In 1667, the various artillerymen were formed into six companies of gunners and bombardiers, which were retained after peace came in 1668. The Duke de Mazarin, then Grand Master, seems to have disbanded the units. In October 1669, he 'resigned' the post, which was then filled by the Duke de Lude. Louis' objective was to militarise the artillery personnel, and the first step was the creation of the Fusiliers du Roi regiment in 1671. This unit was intended not only to protect the artillery but also to serve and even repair it. All the men were armed with flintlock muskets instead of matchlocks and pikes. It quickly grew from one to six battalions during the Dutch War. On 15 April 1693 its name changed to Régiment Royal de l'Artillerie, which officially recognised what it had been for some time: an artillery regiment. Several independent companies of gunners, miners and bombardiers also existed, and some bombardiers were used to form the Royal-Bombardiers regiment on 28 August 1684; this specialised in the service of mortars and large siege guns. The services of Royal-Artillerie and Royal-Bombardiers during Louis' wars were numerous, distinguished and on every front. The Canonniers des Côtes de l'Océan, formed



The Royal Hussars, the first such regiment in the French Army, *c.*1695. This cavalry from the East was considered to be semi-barbaric, as shown by the severed heads carried here on sabres. The uniform was anything but clear to the artist, but we are told they wore a fleur-de-lis on the front of their caps. Engraving after Guérard. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

in La Rochelle in 1702 under the auspices of the Duke du Maine, then Master General, was a coast artillery unit. All these troops were finally united into one artillery corps in 1720. During his reign Louis XIV made the artillery a true military arm, cut down the considerable power of the Grand Master, and made the service responsible to authority. It was an achievement soon copied by other powers.

In 1680, the Fusiliers du Roi wore grey lined with blue with red breeches, stockings and ribbons, buff belt, laced hat and buff accoutrements. Officers had the same uniform laced with broad gold lace and their hats were of grey-white beaver with a red plume. Eighteen years later a red waistcoat had been added, and there was an unusual red cockade at the hat. Sergeants had a gold lace 'two fingers wide'. In 1692 Royal-Bombardier is reported in grey lined with blue and in 1698 they were described with red waistcoat with silver buttonhole lace, red and silver aiguillette, red breeches and stockings. Officers had silver-laced regimentals; drummers wore the king's livery. These uniforms were worn until 1720. The Canonnier des Côtes de l'Océan had dark blue lined with scarlet, officers with gold embroidery, sergeants having scarlet waistcoats and gold lace, gunners orange-yellow buttonhole lace and aiguillettes. Drummers had scarlet lined with blue (the livery of the Duke du Maine) laced with gold.

Colours and Standards

Regimental colours are another vast subject which we can only glance at here. From 1661 all infantry regiments had a white colonel's colour, which was the French equivalent of the British 'King's Colours'. The 'drapeaux d'ordonnance' were the regimental colours: there were two in the first battalion, three in the other battalions, so that there were always three colours per battalion. Dimensions were about 2.1m to 2.25m square. The flags were fixed with gilt nails to a fairly short staff, which was always held by an ensign and did not rest on the ground. The longer staffs seem to have been adopted after the reign of Louis XIV. The staff had a gilt spearhead finial, and from 1690, a white scarf. The cords and tassels were usually of the same colours as the quarters.

Nearly all colours in the French and Foreign infantry had a white cross with quarters of various hues. The older regiments had all four quarters of

A

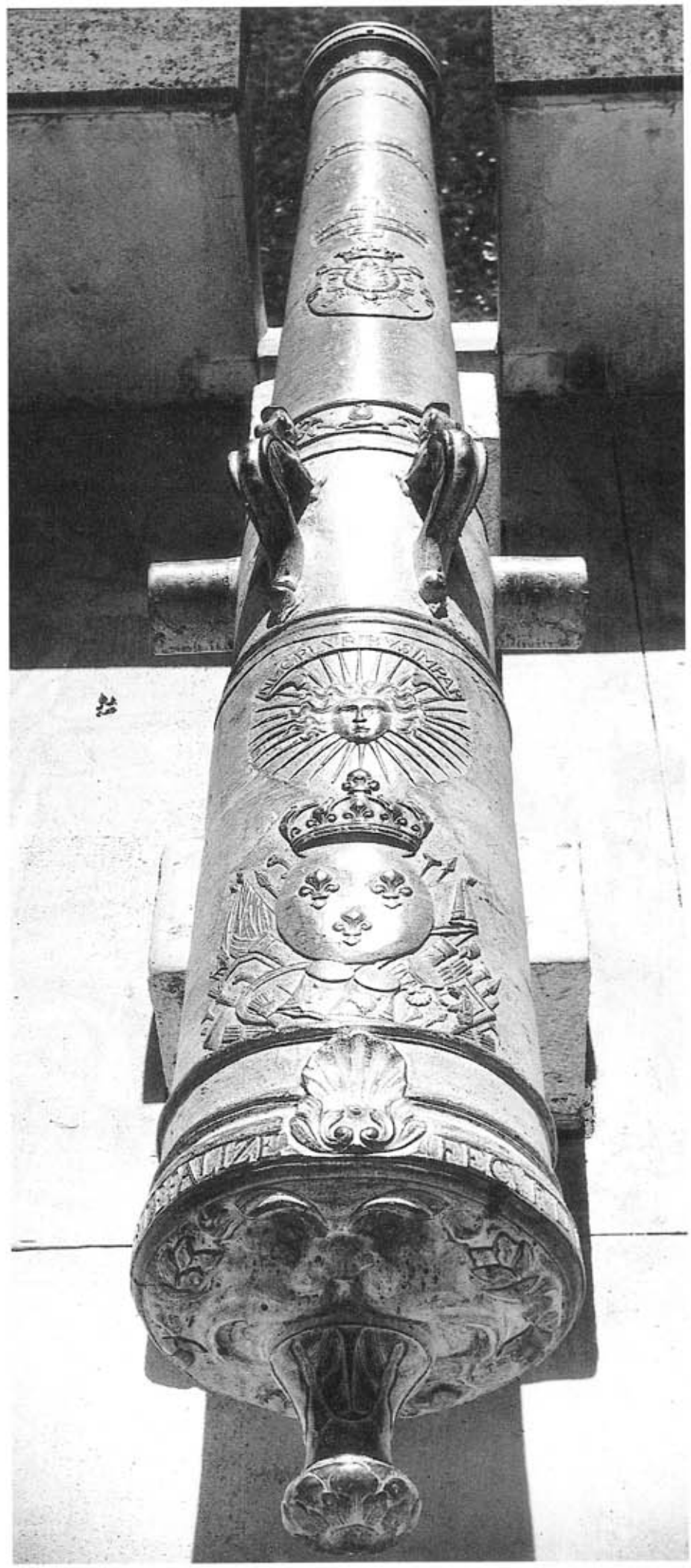
the same colour: e.g. Picardie had red, Champagne green, Piedmont black and Normandie yellow. But many had the 1st (upper left) and 4th (lower right) quarters in one colour, and the second (upper right) and 3rd (lower left) quarters in another. La Marine had 1 and 4 blue, and 2 and 3 green, Bourbonnois blue and violet, Auvergne violet and black, Poitou blue and red, La Reine green and black, Languedoc violet and buff, Lorraine green and violet, etc. Others had four quarters of different colours, such as Vermandois with 1 yellow, 2 violet, 3 red, 4 green; and Royal Roussillon 1 blue, 2 red, 3 orange-buff and 4 green. A few units had golden lilies strewn on the white cross, such as Du Roi with 1 and 4 red and 2 and 3 green, and Royal-la-Marine with blue and yellow. In others each quarter might be divided in two, as in Royal-Italien with red and brown, or Perche with red and blue. The possibilities were considerable, and some colours had very complicated designs. The Swiss regiments had a distinctive design of several wavy flames in each quarter: Greder had nine, these being green, red, green, white, red, white, green, red and green; Pfyffer had blue, black, blue, white, blue, white, blue, black and blue.

Cavalry standards were smaller, measuring about 100 cm to 105 cm square, nailed on a staff up to 315 cm long. One per company was allowed until a royal order of 1 February 1689, which specified two per squadron. This order further specified standards to be of the colour of the colonel's livery. The standards that did not have lilies were to have a sun on one side and the mottoes and insignias of the colonel on the reverse side. Fringes and embroidery were in gold and silver. Dragoon standards were somewhat smaller, and had rounded swallow-tailed ends in the fly, while hussar standards had pointed ends.

* * *

Thus we end our fleeting glance at the large and varied army of the 'Sun King'. It was the main instrument by which Louis XIV kept Europe on its

'The manner of firing mortars and bombs', as shown in Mallet's 1672 edition of *Les Travaux de Mars*. Figure *A* measures the elevation of the piece, while the bombardier to the left lights the bomb with a match in his right hand, before firing the piece with the match in his left hand. In the foreground are infantry soldiers guarding the artillery, one of them smoking a pipe amidst all this black powder! (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)



French brass land artillery pieces cast during Louis XIV's reign were fine examples of decorative art, as can be seen by this 24pdr. On a scroll near the muzzle was the gun's name, '*L'Enviée*' ('the envied one'), below the motto '*Ultima Ratio Regum*' ('the last argument of kings'). Next comes the coat of arms of the Grand Master of Artillery, the Duke d'Humières (from 1685 to 1694); the two handles shaped as dolphins; the sun which Louis XIV adopted as his personal insignia in 1662, with the motto '*Nec Pluribus Impar*' ('without equals'); the crowned royal arms on a bed of trophies; and around the breech we learn that Bérenger de Falize made this gun at Douai in 1693. (Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va, USA)

toes for over half a century. Its most lasting contribution was probably the great influence it had on other armies. Grenadiers, for instance, were soon the common standard for élite soldiers in all armies; fusilier regiments were created in Britain and Holland; artillery became truly military; the command structure with lieutenant-colonels and brigadiers, became widespread; and Louis' love of pomp, pageantry and order found converts everywhere. What self-respecting army had not adopted uniformity in dress and weapons, and fairly standard drills and manoeuvres by 1700? The practice of having a large permanent army in peacetime, with controls which insured its obedience to authority, was firmly established. The administrative machine was created to draft men for military service, a system refined by the French Revolution's concept of universal 'national service'. Louis XIV's army was the precursor of today's armies and as such, the first great modern army.

Reversed print of an infantry soldier, *c.*1710, seen from the back. The equipment was the buff waist belt which held sword, bayonet and cartridge box (in front). The powder horn was slung over the shoulder on a narrow buff belt. Note the early type of gaiter which appeared at the time of the War of Spanish Succession. (Private collection)

The Plates

A1: Pikeman, Régiment Douglas, c.1667–1669
This Scottish unit in French service had red coats lined white. The 'Roman' style helmet shown appears to have been very popular during the 1660s and 1670s. (Sources: Mallet, *Les Travaux de Mars*, 1672; Leask & McCance, *Regimental Records of the Royal Scots*, 1915, quoting 1667 clothing shipment.)

A2: Musketeer, Régiment Furstenberg, c.1669
This German unit was reported wearing blue coats lined yellow at Dunkirk in May 1669. (Sources: Louvois to Le Tellier, 16 & 24 May 1669, Arch. Guerre, A1, v.241; M. Pétard, *Equipements Militaires*, v. 1, 1983; '*L'histoire du roi*' tapestries, Musée de Versailles.)

A3: Musketeer, Régiment Lyonnais, 1666
In the summer of 1666 this regiment were wearing grey-white coats lined with red, red stockings and ribbons and buff belts with red fringes. Officers had gold lace, sergeants had silver lace 'everywhere'. Drummers wore the livery of the Villeroi family—green lined orange with orange lace—by special permission of the king, instead of the royal livery. (Sources: Capt. Severat's memoirs quoted in *La Sabretache*, 1904.)

B1: Musketeer, Régiment des Gardes Françaises, c.1678–1679
The regiment of French Guards had grey uniforms with red waistcoat and stockings. Most interesting is the pouch—described as having a sun badge on its flap—which eventually replaced bandoliers in the 1680s. (Sources: *Locke's Travels in France 1675–1679; Mercure Galant*, January 1679.)

B2: Garde du Corps, 4th Company, c.1675–1680
Each company of the King's Body Guards had silver-laced bandoliers of different colours: the 4th had yellow bandoliers and housings. The blue cloak was rolled up so that only its red lining showed. (Sources: 'Louis XIV in front of the Grotto of Thetis' 1675, 'Le Château de Clugny' 1680 by P. D. Martin, Musée de Versailles; 'Bataille de Seneffe . . . 1674' mural at Les Invalides; *Mercure Galant*, May 1679.)

B3: Grenadier à Cheval, c.1676–1680
This unit wore a red uniform until the 1690s. The buttonholes were worked with silver although there was not yet the broad lace decoration which was subsequently recorded. Dragoon-type gaiters are shown: these troops were to fight on foot as well as mounted. Fur-trimmed red caps were reported worn, possibly the earliest description of grenadier caps. (Sources: *Mercure Galant*, February 1678, May 1679; *Locke's Travels*.)

C1: Musketeer, Régiment Garde Suisse, c.1678–1679
The red uniform of this unit was not yet officially established, since pikemen had blue coats while musketeers had red coats with blue breeches. (Sources: *Mercure Galant*, January 1679; *Locke's Travels*.)

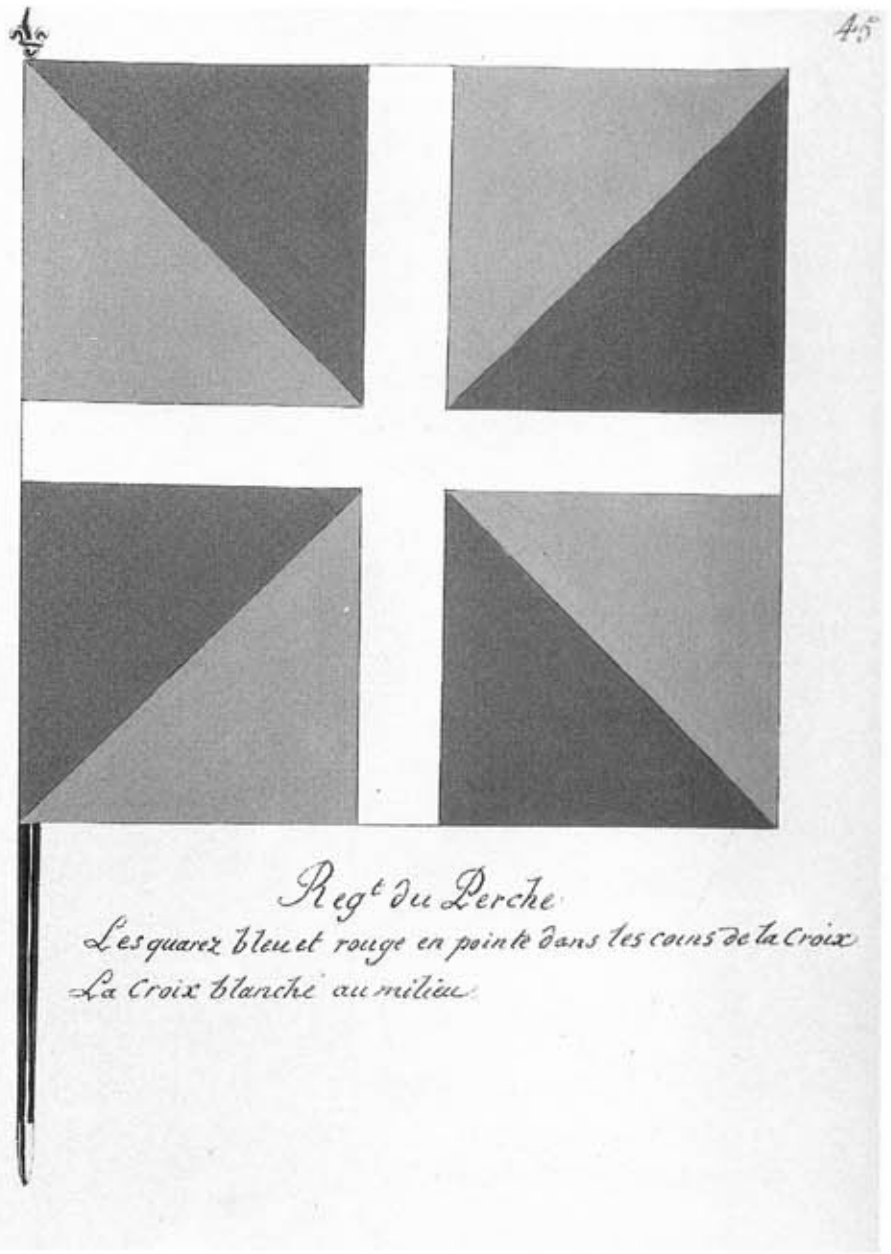
C2: Musketeer, Régiment Vierzet, c.1679
This Walloon infantry unit was reported wearing brownish ochre (*'feuille-morte'*) lined with blue in 1679. Up to the 1680s brown appears to have been worn by many infantry units, but all except Royal-Italien eventually adopted grey-white. (Sources: Louvois to Zurlauben, 11 May 1679, Arch. Guerre, A1, v. 621; 'Cambrai . . . 1677' mural at Les Invalides.)

C3 & 4: Troopers, regiments of line cavalry, c.1671–1680
Both men wear the buff leather coat with sleeves and gloves of a softer leather, and buff leather breeches, which offered protection against edged weapons. The white sashes were worn as national identification since enemy cavalry often wore the same buff leather dress. From November 1671, cavalry was to be in grey or blue cloth coats, and the latter is worn by C3 over the buff coat, which became a waistcoat. (Sources: Mallet, *Travaux de Mars*, 1672; Gaya, *Traité de Armes*, 1678; Order of 6 November 1671 quoted in Rothwiller, *Hist. due 2è Régt. de Cuirassiers*, 1877.)

C5: Fusilier, Régiment des Fusiliers du Roi, c.1680
This unit raised in 1671 was the first to be completely armed with flintlock muskets. Although raised as infantry to protect the artillery, they also served guns, and became Royal-Artillerie in 1693. (Sources: *Mercure Galant*, September 1680, 2nd part.)

D1: Private, Régiment Hautefort-Dragon, c.1698
This was 'Asfeld-Dragon' until 1696. Besides wearing caps, dragoons were recognised by their leather gaiters, and carried flintlock muskets as well as cavalry swords. (The main sources for all figures

Regimental colour of the Perche Infantry Regiment, 1715, showing the typical design of infantry colours: a white cross with quarters in various hues and designs. In this case each quarter is divided into red and blue triangles. This unit had once been the Carignan-Salières regiment, and reconstructions often show this flag in Canada 1665–8. Du Vivier's 1715 flag manuscript is the earliest solid evidence, and it pertains to Perche; there is no known contemporary evidence describing the colour of Carignan-Salières. (Copy of the 1715 ms in the archives, Jean et Raoul Brunon, Salon de Provence)

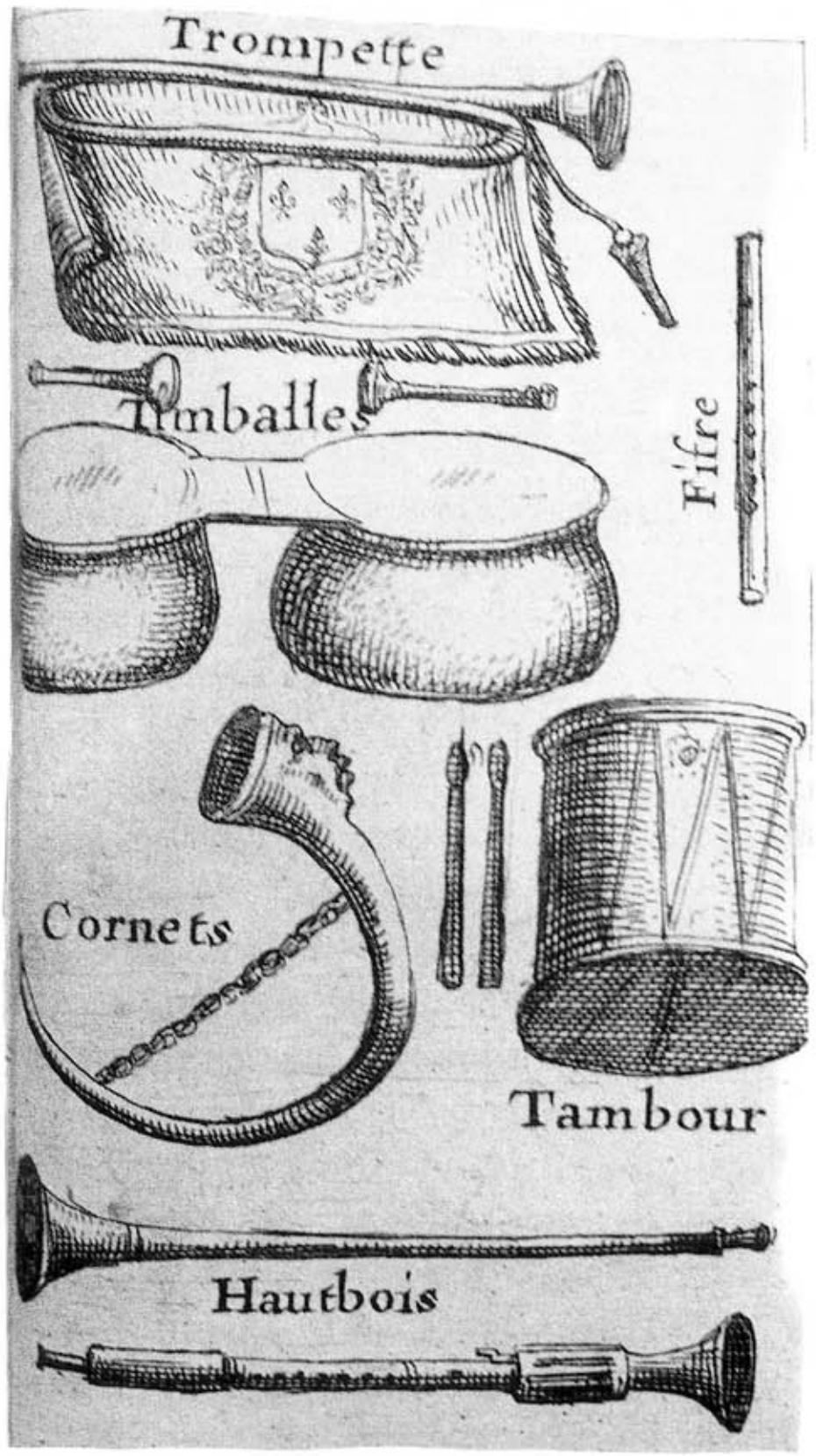


on this plate are: *Mercure Galant*, September 1680, 2è partie, September 1698; Bibl. Guerre, Ms A1b 1626; Guérard, *Les Exercices de Mars*, *c.*1695.)

D2: Private, Régiment des Dragons du Roi, c.1698
The King's Dragoon regiment, also called 'Royal', wore blue lined with red with pewter buttons in 1698. The coat is reconstructed after one sent to Sweden in the late 1680s.

D3: Private, Régiment Tessé-Dragon, 1680
When reviewed by the king in Flanders in 1680, Tessé wore yellow lined with red. In 1685 the regiment became 'Mestre-de-Camp-Général' and changed to red lined with blue.

A panoply of musical instruments used in the armies of Louis XIV. The cavalry trumpet (in this case for a royal regiment, since its banner shows the king's arms) and kettle drums were in general use; drums proper were used by infantry and dragoons. From Gaya's 1678 *Traité des Armes*. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)



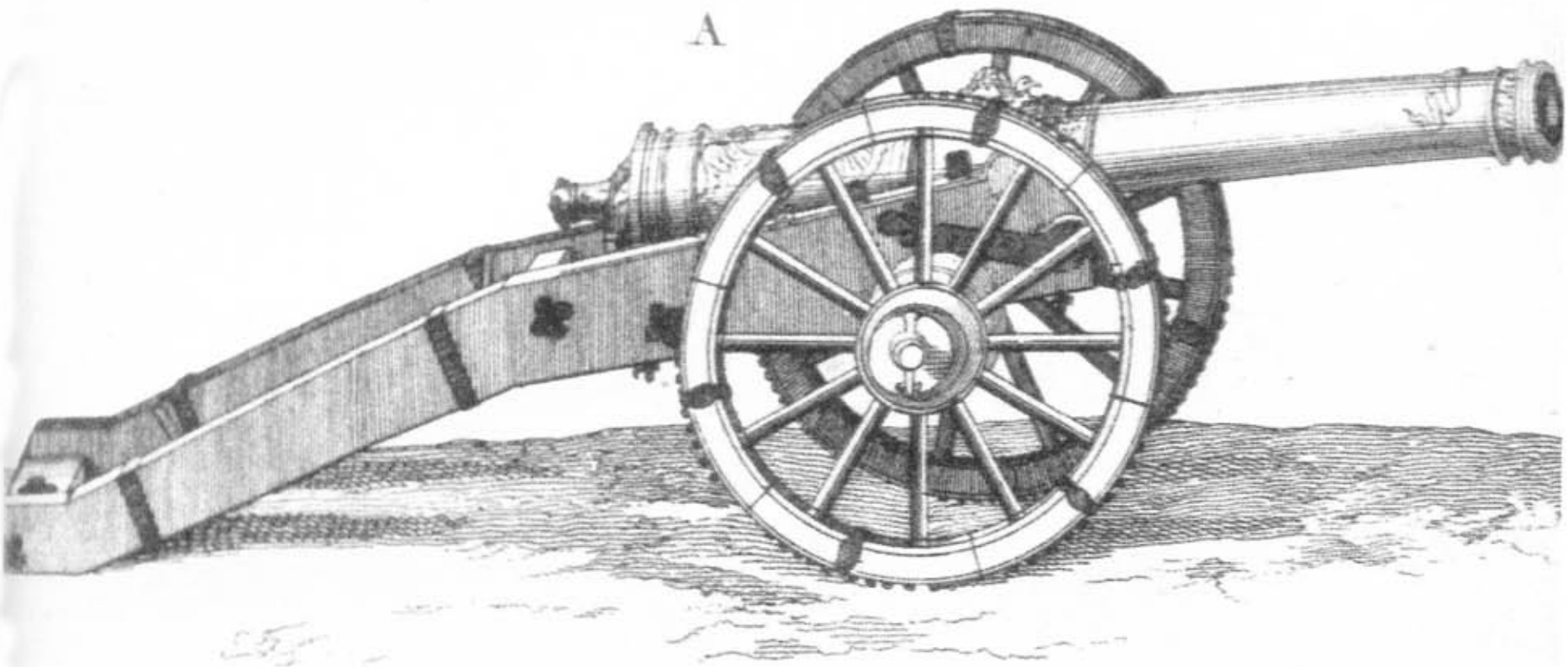
D4: Officer, Régiment Colonel-Général des Dragons, 1680
At the 1680 review the officers were 'magnificently dressed' in coats embroidered with silver 'Brandebourgs' in Spanish point lace. The standards were red sprinkled with gold flames, etc. It is worth noting that the officers of all the regiments present were in regimental uniforms.

E1: Grenadier, Régiment de La Reine, c.1692–1698
The grenadier's equipment included a sling for the flintlock musket, a large pouch for grenades with a frog for a hatchet, and a sabre with a curved blade. Although some had caps, it appears most wore hats. (Sources: Bibl. Guerre, Ms A1b, 1626; *Mercure Galant*, September 1698; Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires d'Artillerie*, 1697.)

E2: Militiaman, Provincial Militia, 1688–1697
The men drafted into the 30 Provincial Militia regiments had very plain grey clothing. In the province of Quercy the Intendant specified grey-white or steel grey cloth coat, breeches and stockings. A hat was added for the 1689 levy and ribbons for it in 1690, as well as a black cravat. The draftee's uniform and equipment fell to the expense of his village; those from poor areas must have been outfitted accordingly. (Sources: *Revue hist. des Armées*, 1986: 1; Bibl. Nationale, Estampes, militia officer *c.*1688.)

E3: Musketeer, Régiment des Gardes-Françaises, c.1685–1697
The regiment paraded in its new blue uniform in March 1685 and it remained basically the same to the end of the reign. (Sources: *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, 24 March 1685 entry; Giffart, *L'Art Militaire François pour l'Infanterie*, 1696; Peyrins, *Traité des Marques Nationales*, 1739.)

F1: Fusilier, Régiment de Navarre, c.1690–1700
Like most of the senior regiments of the infantry, Navarre wore grey lined with grey. Pockets had distinctive shapes, permanently fixed for each regiment in Louis XV's reign, but they seem to have varied from the 1680s to the early 1700s. (Except for



24pdr. cannon on its carriage, *c.*1697. Great efforts were made during the reign of Louis XIV to standardise not only the guns but also the carriages, limbers and other equipment for artillery. Although previous works had their merits, it was Suriry de Saint-Rémy's *Mémoires d'Artillerie*, first published in 1697, that set the standard for such publications. The 1707 and 1745 editions incorporated new developments, but it remained a valid work in many areas well into the 18th century.

figure F3, the uniforms on this plate are based on Bibl. Guerre, Ms A1b, v. 1626; *Mercure Galant*, September 1698; Guérard, *Les Exercises de Mars*, *c.*1695; Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires d'Artillerie*, 1697.)

F2: Gunner, Régiment Royal-Bombardiers, c.1690–1700
The uniform of this unit was basically the same as that of Fusilier du Roi (see C5), but with silver buttons and lace.

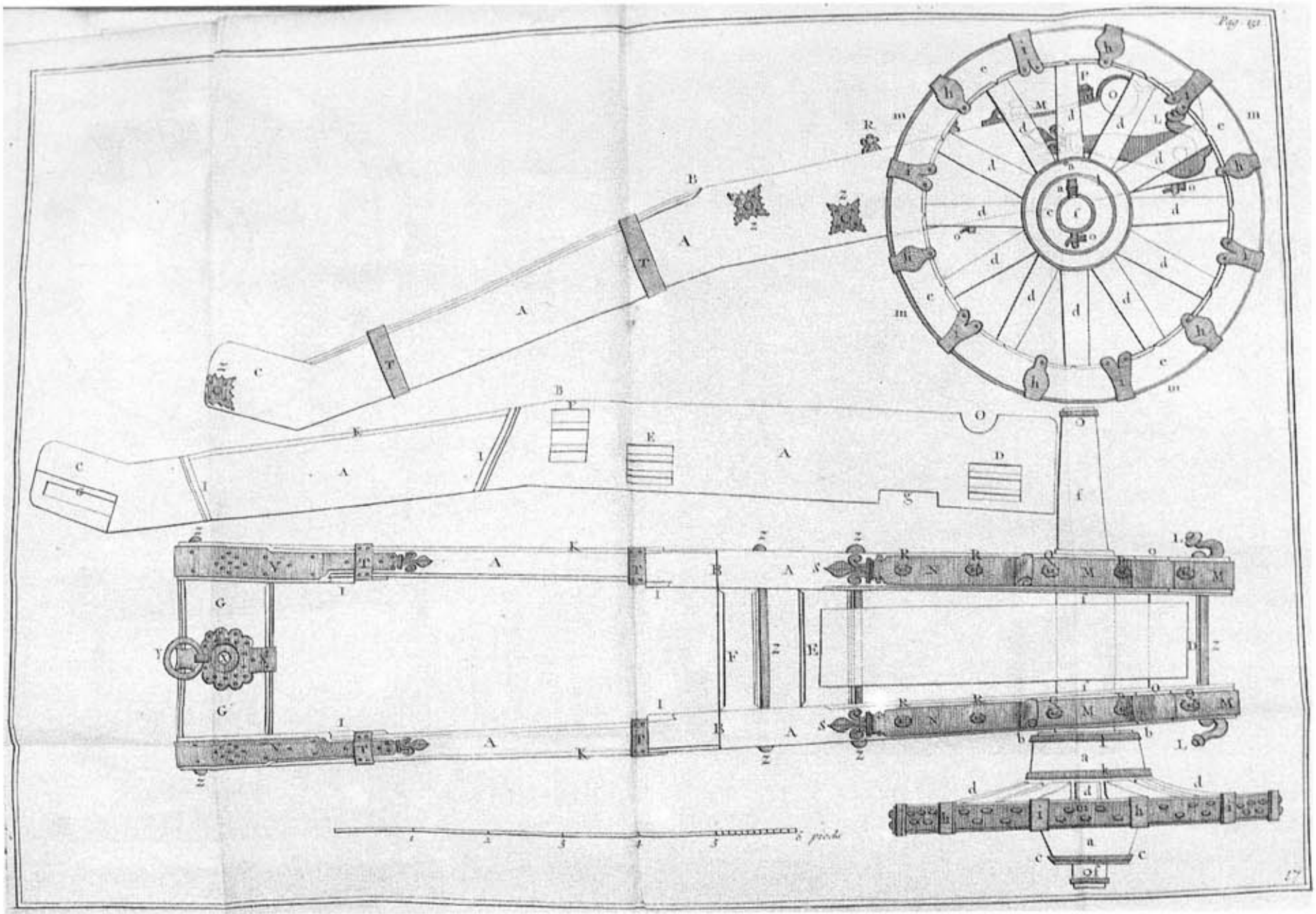
F3: Sergeant, Régiment de Provence, c.1690–1696
In most regiments, sergeants wore the same colours as their men but of better quality materials and with lace on the cuffs. Some units, however, had sergeants dressed in completely different uniforms. Such was the case with Provence whose sergeants wore red coats, waistcoats, breeches and stockings—but changed in 1696 after suffering heavy casualties because of this distinctive dress. Provence had brass buttons but silver hat lace, another unusual combination. Mortemart's regiment also had sergeants in red in 1703. (Source: Du Houx, *Hist. du Régt. Inf. de Monsieur*, 1778.)

F4: Fusilier, Régiment Erlach, c.1690–1700
Foreign regiments in the line infantry had varied uniforms under Louis XIV and many Swiss units wore blue lined with red, as in Erlach (which became Manuel's regiment in 1694). The Swiss had distinctive breeches with 'points' hanging down below the knees, and carried curved hangers with a multi-branched guard.

G1: Cavalry trumpeter of a royal regiment, c.1695–1715
Like drummers in the infantry, cavalry trumpeters and kettle-drummers wore either the livery of their colonels or that of the king if in a royal regiment—the latter being blue lined red with a white chain design on the crimson lace. (Same sources as for plate F except for figure G2.)

G2: Trooper, Royal-Carabinier, c.1693–1715
Raised in 1693, this large corps was armed with rifled carbines, hence its name. The cloak was blue lined with red and housings were blue with a white border. (Sources: Daniel, *Hist. de la Milice Françoise*, 1721, Bibl. Guerre, Ms A1J, 11.)

G3: Trooper, Régiment Cossé, c.1695–1715
The majority of line cavalry regiments wore grey lined, or at least cuffed with red, such as Cossé's (which was also known as Brissac's since it belonged to the Cossé-Brissac family). The yellow housings



Plan for a field carriage for a 24pdr. gun. This was the design used for those made at Douai for the army in Flanders in the 1690s, and apparently the most popular type. Carriages were painted red with black metalwork. From Saint-Rémy's 1697 *Mémoires d'Artillerie*. (David M. Stewart Museum & Library, Montreal)

were most likely edged with black since this was the family livery. Aiguillettes were often worn by cavalrymen, probably in the livery colour.

H1: Drummer, Régiment Saint-Germain-Beaupré, 1702–1714

Colonel Saint-Germain-Beaupré's drummers wore his livery: a buff ('isabelle') coat with blue lining, cuffs, waistcoat, breeches and stockings, and brass buttons. The coat had a cross on the breast and probably on the back, an apparently popular ornament for drummers at this time—Du Roi and Lyonnois drummers are shown with crosses as late as 1720. The lace is unknown but was probably in the livery colour. This unit served in Flanders and Germany. (Source: Drouault, *L'habillement et l'équipement du Régt. de Saint-Germain-Beaupré*, 1909 after clothing bills.)

H2: Fusilier, Régiment Montluc, 1702–1707

This figure shows the new ventral cartridge box which came into general use at the turn of the century. Sergeants had cuffs edged with gold lace, and drummers wore Col. Montluc's livery of 'scarlet' with yellow cuffs and an undescribed livery lace. This unit served in Italy 1703–1706, and Flanders thereafter. La Rivière-Casteras became colonel in 1707, and the drummers' livery would then have changed. (Sources: Arch. Guerre, A1, v. 1896, Roicreux to Chamillard, 8 March 1705, with clothing bills of 1703.)

H3: Lieutenant with regimental colour, Régiment Maillé, 1705–1714

A 1705 clothing bill for officers gives a grey-white coat lined with red, black velvet cuffs and gold buttons. Captains had gold edging lace and buttonholes and lieutenants had gold-laced buttonholes on the cuff only. The colours had the white cross with quarters in yellow with red tooth-saw lines and a black wavy border. The regiment served in Flanders. (Sources: Arch. Guerre, A1, v. 1834,

Labadie to Chamillard, 29 March 1705 with clothing contract; 1713. A Beck flag trophy plate in P. Charrié, *La Sabretache*, 1980: 2.)

Bibliographic note

If the great military and political figures and events of Louis XIV's reign have often been studied by historians, the French army as an institution during the reign has not received the same exclusive attention. However, a great deal can be found in Gen. Louis Susane's monumental *Histoire de l'Infanterie française* (5 vols.), *Histoire de la Cavalerie française* (3 vols.) and *Histoire de l'Artillerie française* (1 vol.), Paris, 1874–1876, reprinted 1984. This is an especially essential work for regimental histories as it tries to record every regiment ever raised. Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois* (3 vols., Paris, 1864–1865); vol. 2 of L. Dussieux, *L'Armée en France* (Versailles, 1884); Georges Girard, *Racolage et Milice, 1701–1715* (Paris, *c.*1915); Emile Léonard, *L'Armée et ses problèmes au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1958); André Corvisier's *L'Armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au Ministère de Choiseul. Le soldat* (Paris 1964, 2 vols) and *Louvois* (Paris, 1983) all give excellent data on various aspects. The list could go on but period books such as *Ordonnances et Règlements du Roy pour les Gens de Guerre* (Paris, 1680–1706, 15 vols.); Alain Manesson Mallet, *Les Travaux de Mars* (Paris, 1672, 1684, etc.); Gaya, *Traité des Armes* (Paris, 1678); Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice française* (Paris, 1721, 2 vols.); Guignard, *L'Ecole de Mars* (Paris, 1725) are essential. The *Mercure Galant*, published monthly from 1672, is a gold mine of information of all sorts but ultimately, one must go to the Château de

A cavalry trooper of the 1670s wearing a buff leather coat (A) which laced up at the front. Note the aiguillette at the right shoulder. Hats were usually black with bunches of coloured ribbons. Breeches were of buff leather. The boots (H) were black and had spurs attached (I, K). The equipment consisted of a buff sword belt (B) and a buff carbine belt with steel hook (E). Weapons were a sword (C), a carbine (G), and a pair of waist pistols (E). The white sash of France was worn around the waist for national identification in battle. From Gaya's 1678 *Traité des Armes*. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, USA)

Vincennes, where the '*Archives de la Guerre*'—a large proportion of the manuscript record of Louis XIV's army—is preserved, notably in series A^1, vol. 168 to 2421, covering the years 1661 to 1714.

Notes sur les planches en couleur

Note: Les sources quant à toutes ces figures sont indiquées dans les légendes données en anglais.

A1 Unité de volontaires écossais; notez la doublure blanche du manteau rouge; et le casque 'roman', populaire pendant les années 1660–1670. **A2** Unité allemande signalée à Dunkirk, 1669, en manteaux bleus doublés de jaune. **A3** Galon d'or pour les officiers et d'argent pour les sous-officiers, à profusion. Les tambours portaient la livrée de Villeroi verte, doublée et gansée d'orange.

B1 La pièce la plus intéressante est la giberne, décrite comme portant un insigne de soleil et qui annonçait le remplacement généralisé, dans les années 1680, des cartouchières par des gibernes. **B2** La Garde du Corps portait des cartouchières aux couleurs de la compagnie avec galon d'argent. Notez la doublure rouge du manteau bleu roulé. **B3** Cette unité a porté un uniforme rouge jusqu'-aux années 1690. Notez les boutonnières décorées d'argent qui n'avaient pas encore évolué en brandebourgs propres garnis de galons. Notez les guêtres de style dragons pour les exercices à pied et un des tout premiers exemples de bonnet de "grenadier" garni de fourrure.

C1 Les piquiers de ce régiment portaient, en contraste, des manteaux bleus. **C2** Le brun était une couleur populaire pour les manteaux avant les années 1680; ton 'feuille-morte', avec doublure bleue pour cette unité wallonne. **C3, C4** Manteaux et bretelles de buffle—qui se distinguaient de ceux des ennemis par les écharpes nationales blanches—furent remplacés dès novembre 1671 par des manteaux gris ou bleus, le manteau de buffle devenant alors une veste—voir C3. **C5** La première unité armée entièrement de fusils à pierre, ces gardes de l'artillerie servaient aussi la pièce de canon et devinrent la Royale Artillerie en 1693.

D1 Bonnets, guêtres et mousquets distinguaient les dragons des cavaliers. **D2** Cet uniforme en drap rouge doublé en bleu, du Régiment du Roi, nommé aussi "Royale" des Dragons, a été reconstitué d'après un exemplaire envoyé en Suède à la fin des années 1680. **D3** En Flandres, 1680, cette unité portait du jaune doublé de rouge; en 1685, devenant 'Mestre-de-Camp-Général', elle adoptait la couleur rouge doublée de bleu. **D4** Un superbe costume régimentaire enregistré pour une revue.

E1 Le grenadier a une bandoulière de mousquet, une bourse à grenade avec un crapaud pour sa hachette et un sabre courbé; peu d'entre eux cependant portaient un bonnet. **E2** Les vêtements gris uni, variant d'une région à l'autre, étaient payés par chaque village et leur qualité devait refléter la richesse de la commune. **E3** Présenté pour la première fois lors d'un défilé en 1685, cet uniforme régimentaire est resté pratiquement inchangé pendant tout le règne de Louis XIV.

F1 La plupart des régiments les plus anciens portaient un habit gris, avec doublure grise, et des poches de formes distinctives (mais qui n'étaient pas encore prescrites à titre définitif, comme elles devaient l'être plus tard). **F2** Uniforme fondamentalement semblable à celui de C5 mais avec 'métal' d'argent. **F3** Une des unités dont les sous-officiers portèrent des uniformes en complet contraste—jusqu'en 1696, date à laquelle l'habit d'un rouge ostentatoire fut jugé trop dangereux. **F4** Plusieurs unités suisses portaient un habit de drap bleu doublé de rouge; les autres caractéristiques comprenaient les 'pointes' qui pendaient à hauteur du genou et des poignées de coutelas à branches multiples.

G1 La livrée royale, commune aux tambours et trompettes de l'infanterie et de la cavalerie des régiments du roi; d'autres régiments portaient la livrée de leur colonel. **G2** Comme armes des carabines à canon rayé; les étuis étaient bleus, bordés de blanc et les manteaux bleus à doublure rouge. **G3** Une doublure grise ou des poignets rouges étaient communs á la plupart des unités de cavalerie; les étuis jaunes auraient été bordés de noir, dans les couleurs de la famille Cossé-Brissac. Les aiguillettes, courantes chez les cavaliers, suivaient souvent les mêmes couleurs que celle de la livrée.

H1 La livrée du colonel: la croix était probablement répétée au dos. **H2** L'emploi généralise de la boîte à cartouches ventrale fit son apparition vers 1700. Les sous-officiers de cette unité avaient des poignets à galon doré tandis que les tambours portaient la livrée du Colonel Montluc, en drap écarlate avec poignets jaunes et dentelle de livrée dont la description n'est pas donnée. **H3** Dans cette unité, il y avait une ganse dorée et un galon d'or sur toutes les boutonnières pour les capitaines; seules les boutonnières des poignets étaient garnies de galon d'or pour les lieutenants.

Farbtafeln

Anmerkung: Die Quellen für alle Abbildungen sind in den englischen Bildtexten angegeben.

A1 Schottische Freiwilligen-Einheit; siehe weisses Futter des roten Rocks und den 'romanischen' Helm, beliebt zwischen 1660 und 1670. **A2** Deutsche Einheit, gemeldet aus Dünkirchen 1669, in blauen Mänteln mit gelbem Futter. **A3** Offiziere trugen reiche goldene Spitzen, die Sergeanten silberne Spitzen. Trommler trugen die Villeroi-Uniform in Grün, gefüttert und orangefarben verschnürt.

B1 Am interessantesten ist die Patronentasche mit einem Sonnenabzeichen, die den allgemeinen Ersatz von Bandoliers durch patronentaschen in den 80er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts ankündigt. **B2** Das Garde du Corps hatte silberverschnürte Bandoliers in Kompaniefarben. Siehe rotes Futter des aufgerollten blauen Umhangs. **B3** Diese Einheit trug bis nach 1690 Rot. Siehe silberverzierte Knopflöcher, noch nicht entwickelt zu richtig verschnürten Schlingen. Siehe dragonerartige Gamaschen für Fussdienst, und ein ganz frühes Beispiel einer pelzverbrämten Grenadierkappe.

C1 Pikeniere dieses Regiments trugen im Gegensatz dazu blaue Mäntel. **C2** Braun war vor 1680 eine beliebte Mantelfarbe; diese Wallonneneinheit trug die Schattierung 'Feuillemorte' mit blauem Futter. **C3, C4** Büffelledermäntel und Reithosen—von denen der Feinde durch weisse Schärpen unterschieden—wurden ab November 1671 durch graue oder blaue Mäntel abgelöst, und der Ledermantel wurde zum Wams—siehe. C3. **C5** Diese Artilleriegarden, als erste Einheit komplett mit Steinschlossflinten ausgerüstet, bedienten auch Kanonen und wurden 1693 zur Royale-Artillerie.

D1 Kappen, Gamaschen und Musketen unterschieden Dragoner von Kavalleriesoldaten. **D2** Auch die 'Königlichen' Dragoner genannt, wurde hier die blaue, rotgesäumte Uniform des Königs-Regiments nach einem Vorbild rekonstruiert, das spät in den 80er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Schweden geschickt wurde. **D3** 1680 in Flandern trug diese Einheit Gelb, gesäumt in Rot; 1685 hiess das 'Mestre-de-Camp-General' und wurde rot, blau gesäumt. **D4** Eine grossartige Regimentsuniform für eine Parade.

E1 Der Grenadier hat eine Musketenschlaufe, eine Granatentasche mit Frosch für sein Beil, und einen Krummsäbel; aber nur wenige trugen Kappen. **E2** Einfärbig graue Kleidung mit regionalen Variationen wurde von dem jeweiligen Dorf bezahlt, und die Qualität muss dessen jeweiligen Wohlstand wiedergespiegelt haben. **E3** Die 1685 erstmals paradierte Regimentsuniform blieb während Ludwigs Regierungszeit praktisch unverändert.

F1 Die meisten alten Regimenter trugen Grau, grau gesäumt, mit auffälligen Taschenformen (die aber damals noch nicht so permanent waren wie später). **F2** Im Grunde dieselbe Uniform wie C5, aber mit Silber-'Metall'. **F3** Eine der Einheiten, deren Sergeanten ganz gegensätzliche Uniformen trugen—bis 1696, als die auffallenden roten Uniformen als zu gefährlich erachtet wurden. **F4** Mehrere Schweizer Einheiten trugen Blau, rot gesäumt; andere Merkmale waren Points, die von den Knien hingen, und Hirschfängergriffe.

G1 Die King's Livery von Infanterie—und Kavallerietrompetern und Trommlern in königlichen Regimentern; andere trugen die Farben des Obersten. **G2** Die Waffen waren Karabiner; Schabracken waren blau mit weisser Einfassung, Umhänge blau, und rot gesäumt. **G3** Grau gesäumt oder roter Besatz war bei den meisten Kavallerieeinheiten üblich; gelbe Schabracken dürften schwarz eingefasst sein, in den Farben der Familie Cossé-Brissac. Aiguillettes, üblich bei Kavalleristen, hatten oft den Wappenfarben.

H1 Die Livery des Obersten: das Kreuz war wahrscheinlich auch auf dem Rücken. **H2** Die ventrale Patronentasche tauchte ca. um 1700 auf. Sergeanten dieser Einheit hatten goldgefasste Manschetten, und Trommler die Montluc-Farben Scharlach mit gelben Manschetten, und eine nicht beschriebene Wappenverschnürung. **H3** Hauptleute hatten goldumrandete verschnürung, auch an allen Knopflöchern in dieser Einheit; Leutnants hatten verschnürte Knopflöcher und Manschetten.